

A New
ESSAY
ON THE
Roman History:
FROM THE
FOUNDATION of the CITY,
TO THE
Division of the EMPIRE.
WITH
REFLECTIONS
MORAL and POLITICAL.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem. Virg.

L O N D O N :

Printed for H. PARKER, and sold by
C. RIVINGTON, at the *Bible and Crown* in
St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCXXVII.

1727

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Edward P. ...

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

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TO
Edward Peirson,
HIGH-SHERIFF
OF THE
County of E S S E X.

S I R,



HERE is nothing affords a greater Pleasure to a Mind that delights in Study and Contemplation, than the rural Recess. The Muses are bashful and solitary Ladies, that have a natural Aversion to the Noise and Tumult of Cities, and are never easy when absent from their innocent and native Habitation, the Country.

A 2

40 Tho'

iv The DEDICATION.

Tho' Fortune has not thought fit to indulge me with any little Cottage, that I might call my own, I yet have no Reason to accuse her of Partiality; since she has more than made amends, by the generous Access I have to your agreeable Retirement at Upton.

Notwithstanding my having receiv'd Favour from you of a much higher Nature, and that claim my utmost Acknowledgments, 'twas yet impossible for me to forbear expatiating upon a Circumstance that fills me with the utmost Satisfaction at the bare Reflection only.

You will perhaps imagine, that I am addressing some poetic Fancy to your Protection, as I have talk'd hitherto, tho' very faintly, in the Language of the inspir'd; but 'tis, Sir, a Subject of another Nature; 'tis History, and that of no less a People than the Romans; a People, in whom you will admire their plain and unaffected Virtue, undisguis'd with the false Arts of Flattery and Insinuation; a Character that peculiarly distinguishes the Briton, and which is so conspicuous in yourself.

Nothing can be a greater Indication of a generous Mind, than the not being elated with the Acquisitions of Fortune.

Riches

The DEDICATION. V

Riches are so apt to stifle all the tender Emotions of Humanity and Compassion; to make us overlook all the Sufferings of Men like ourselves; that he who has a Fund of Virtue great enough to stem the Tide of Custom, and the too natural Propension of human Nature to triumph over its Fellow-Creatures, deserves to be publickly celebrated as a Pattern for the Imitation of all Men.

That you are to be rank'd in this auspicious Number, I myself have had the most convincing Proofs; as I am a Witness to the generous Trouble to which you daily put yourself for the Good of others. And tho' Addresses of this Nature are generally look'd upon as so many random Panegyrics, that will suit any Person whom Flattery shall think fit to point out, I yet am conscious to myself, that what I speak is Fact. Flattery, indeed, is a Vice that prevails but too much in the World, but then 'tis certain, on the other Side, that there are such Things in Nature as Truth and Gratitude.

As I am not in a Capacity of returning the Favours with which you have been pleas'd to distinguish me, 'tis with the utmost Satisfaction, that I embrace the only Opportunity left me, and like the Peasant,

vi The DEDICATION.

who presents a little Basket of his choicest Fruit to his Lord, I, in like manner, offer this Trifle to you as a small Testimony of my Gratitude.

Go on, Sir, as You, and your Lady have begun; dispense your Favours with a liberal Hand, and you will find, that they will return upon you with a surprising Increase; by sweetning all the Cares of Life; giving you the highest Satisfaction that can possibly be tasted in this World; make your Life one uninterrupted Series of Happiness and Prosperity; your Children will be the Blessings of your future Age, and yourself will be consider'd as a Friend to Mankind, as you have already been in a particular Manner, to

S I R,

Nov. 11. 1726.

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

L.



The Publisher to the Reader.

IT may not be improper to inform the Publick, that the following *Essay* was sent me by an unknown Hand, together with a Letter, wherein I was desir'd to send it to the Press.

I Have perus'd it very carefully, and think it writ in the most exact Method, and with the greatest Accuracy. The Writer traces the *Roman* Story to its Fountain, and beginning with *Romulus*, gives us a just and probable Account of its most remarkable Transactions, from that *Era* to the Division of the Empire; or to express it more at large, He gives us a general Idea of the whole *Roman* Empire. What was the Genius of the People under the Government of its Kings, its Consuls and its Emperors; what *Rome* was in its Infancy, and how it rose insensibly to be the Capital of the Universe; we there see the Establishment of the Commonwealth, and the Causes of its Ruin; the Foundation of the Empire by *Julius Caesar*, its Settlement under *Augustus*, the sad Disorders and different Revolutions it labour'd under during the Reigns of its Successors; and lastly, its Division by *Theodosius the Great*, who, in Favour of his two Sons, divided it into the Empires of the

viii *The Publisher to the Reader.*

East and West. — He appears to have diligently studied the most eminent *Greek* and *Latin* Authors that have writ upon this Subject, and to have extracted the Quintessence from them all.

THE whole is written with great Perspicuity, the Facts are so interwoven with one another, as not to make a Confusion, but succeed each other with great Order and Regularity. If the Stile had been less swell'd and stiff in some Places, it wou'd not have been less beautiful; but I believe, the great Idea the Author had form'd to himself of the *Romans*, made him imagine that 'twas impossible for him to paint their History in too strong and lively Colours.

HE has borrow'd some fine Reflections from *St. Evremont*, and work'd 'em up into the Body of his Piece, and has added some Notes from *Bayle*; his own Reflections upon the Springs of Action are beautiful and probable. So that in the whole, I believe, I may affirm, that we have not a better *Essay* upon this Subject in our Language.

I Have prefix'd a compleat Index, that will be of Use not only in finding out all the remarkable Transactions, but also the particular Times when they happen'd.

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A New

ESSAY

ON THE

Roman History :



Do not intend to expatiate upon the astonishing and romantic Fictions, that were invented by the ancient *Romans*, purely to heighten the Merits of the Foundation of their City, and by that Means to persuade the World, that it was effected in an almost super-natural Manner; much less shall I take upon me to destroy those fond Errors, with which that proud City flatter'd itself, for so many Centuries; and which would have given no small Pain, had any one attempted to have undeceiv'd them. Of what Consequence is it to us, that the *Romans*, un-

B

fatis-

satisfy'd with their Original, have had Recourse to Fable to illustrate and embellish it; that they have endeavour'd to deduce their Glory and Nobility from Causes foreign to themselves; and that hurry'd on by that Vanity, they were not satisfy'd with Claiming a Relation to *Venus*, by Virtue of *Aeneas*, who had brought the *Trojans* into *Italy*; but that they have gone still farther, by maintaining that their Founder was of divine Extraction, whom they were pleas'd to make the Off-spring of *Mars*? A fabulous Extraction! of the Truth of which, they pretended to be fully convinc'd, in Order to gain a greater Credit, and to insinuate a Persuasion of it in the Minds of other Nations, that themselves might be look'd upon with greater Awe and Veneration. Of what Signification is it, I say, to us, that they have made their Original sacred, by its pretended Relation to the Gods? or their setting Limits to the Power of Fate, by believing that the Foundation of *Rome* was the only Object of its Care.

BUT 'tis well known, that Antiquity has always endeavour'd to set the Foundations of Cities, and the Original of great Men, in the most conspicuous Light; and that on the other Side the credulous Multitude have too much valu'd so agreeable and glaring a Deceit, to suffer themselves to be dissuaded from the Belief of it. I shall, therefore, in this Case, keep to the common and probable Opinion, and having rather Regard to the Reader's Patience, than to the Copiousness and Dignity of the Subject,

ject, I shall, in this *Essay*, endeavour to give a concise and exact Idea of the most remarkable Occurrences, that are to be met with in the *Roman History*, from the Building of the City to the Division of the Empire.

THE ambitious *Amulius*, jealous of the Power of his Brother *Numitor*, King of *Alba*, rebels against, and drives him from his Throne. This Usurper, in Order to fix himself in it, shuts up *Rhea Silvia* his Niece, and his Brother's Only Daughter among the Vestals; that she being forc'd either to a perpetual Virginity, or to suffer a cruel and infamous Death, he might thereby prevent any future Rivals from Disputing his Usurpation. But his Foresight was ineffectual, for some time after, *Rhea Silvia*, listening to the Frailties of Nature, was got with Child, and is deliver'd of * Twins; but that her Reputation might be unspotted, she insidiously makes a God share with her in her Crime.

THIS Vestal was artful enough, to make an Advantage of the Divinity, or rather Superstition of that blind Age: 'Twas then believ'd, that the Gods were so very sociable, as to be actual Agents in the Propagation of our Species; that 'twas possible for a mortal Beauty, to make the most indelible Impressions on their Hearts, and to transform them into their Slaves. What was thought to be a Crime in Man, was look'd upon as a Virtue in a God; and whenever they were call'd upon to assist in the Reputation of some Princess, whose Virtue

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had

* *Romulus* and *Remus*.

had been too feeble to resist the alluring Ad-
 dresses of her Lover ; when they made 'em
 metamorphose themselves, I say, in Order to
 make them triumph over some celebrated Beau-
 ty ; these stolen Loves, far from being thought
 criminal or irreputable, were look'd upon as
 honourable, and the Conquest of a God was
 esteem'd the highest Glory. Nay, so great was
 their Extravagance, that many good-natur'd and
 credulous Husbands did too often favour this
 kind of Gallantry. The Reign of *Tiberius* fur-
 nishes us with a famous Example of this kind
 in the Person of *Saturninus* ; which, because it
 is very remarkable, tho' perhaps, too long a
 Digression from my Subject, I shall take the
 Liberty of Transcribing in this Place as I find
 it in *Josephus*. “ *Saturninus*, a Roman Citizen,
 “ married a young Lady, *Paulina* by Name ;
 “ her shining Virtue was equal to her illustrious
 “ Birth, and she was no less conspicuous for her
 “ Beauty than for her ample Possessions. *Mun-*
 “ *dus*, a very considerable Roman Knight, fell
 “ passionately in Love with her, and the Im-
 “ possibility he foresaw of succeeding in it, in-
 “ flam'd him the more. The Condition and
 “ Virtue of *Paulina* were such, as gave no
 “ Room to imagine, that she was to be en-
 “ gag'd either by Gifts or Promises. Yet
 “ could he not forbear making her an Offer
 “ of two hundred thousand *Drachma's* ; but
 “ she reject'd the Bribe with the utmost Scorn
 “ and Contempt. After he had in vain em-
 “ ploy'd every Artifice to insinuate himself in-
 “ to her Affections, he concluded Death to be
 “ the

“ the only Remedy, when *Ide*, one of his Father’s
 “ enfranchis’d She - slaves, promis’d to com-
 “ plect the utmost of his Wishes, with the As-
 “ sistance of fifty thousand *Drachma*’s; *Mun-*
 “ *dus* was all Rapture at the Proposal, and
 “ immediately laid down that Sum. *Ide*, who
 “ knew that *Paulina* had a peculiar Veneration
 “ for the Goddess *Isis*, hasted immediately to
 “ some of her Priests. After they had made
 “ her the most binding Promises, not to di-
 “ vulge what she should discover to them, she
 “ reveal’d to them the Passion of *Mundus*;
 “ adding further, that if they would promise
 “ her to find out some Expedient whereby he
 “ might succeed in it, that she would give
 “ them five and twenty thousand *Drachma*’s
 “ down, and as much more when the Affair
 “ was compleated. The Priests, thus won by
 “ this alluring Bribe, gave *Paulina* to under-
 “ stand that the God *Anubis* was violently in
 “ Love with her, and had therefore com-
 “ manded her to come to him in the Temple.
 “ This Conquest was so glorious in the Eyes
 “ of *Paulina*, that she made her Boasts of it
 “ to all her She-Friends; nor did she scruple
 “ the Revealing it to her Husband, who im-
 “ mediately told her, she had Liberty to act
 “ as she thought proper. Upon this she goes
 “ the same Evening to the Temple, or as
 “ Others have it, was conducted there by her
 “ own Husband. After Supper was over, one
 “ of the Priests shut her up in a dark Room:
 “ *Mundus*, who lay conceal’d in it, soon made
 “ his Addresses to her; and after he had

“ triumph’d over her Charms, left her puff’d
 “ up with the Honour, which she imagin’d
 “ had been done her by the God *Anubis*.
 “ Three Days after *Mundus* meeting her by
 “ Chance, told her all that had pass’d between
 “ them : This Discovery threw *Paulina* into
 “ the blackest Despair; she tore her Cloaths,
 “ and together with her Husband hasted to
 “ *Tiberius*, to offer up her Complaints to him.
 “ The Emperor, after he had made the strict-
 “ est Enquiry into the Affair, either crucify’d,
 “ or burnt those unworthy Priests; demolish’d
 “ the Temple of *Isis*, and threw the Statue
 “ of *Anubis* into the *Tiber*; but *Mundus* was
 “ only banish’d, because the Emperor attributed
 “ his Crime to the Violence of his Passion”.
 But to return, The Priests having very often
 a Passion for some Woman, they, in Order to
 succeed in it, told her, that the God, at whose
 Altars they sacrific’d, lov’d her to Distraction.
 Upon this the pleas’d Fair immediately pre-
 par’d to go to the Temple, where she sometimes
 went unaccompanied, but was more frequently
 conducted there with much Pomp and Cere-
 mony by her own Relations, or Parents. *Rhea*
Sylvia making, therefore, an Advantage of a
 Superstition so favourable and commodious to
 her Sex, imputes her Crime to the God *Mars*,
 declares that he was Father to the two Boys;
 and as he was famous for the frequent Visits
 he sometimes made to *Venus*, where in her
 Arms he reliev’d himself from the Toils of
 War, they easily gave Credit to the Vestal.

Now

Now to bestow a divine Original, upon these Founders of the City of *Rome*, was not reckon'd so mighty an Affair, but Heaven must still work new Miracles, in its Favour. For *Amulius*, as we are told, gave Orders that both of them should be thrown into the *Tyber*; but this River, out of pure Respect to their Birth, threw them back again on the Shore, when a She-Wolf, who happen'd to pass by the Place where they were expos'd, stopp'd to give them suck; but their Familiarity afterwards growing up into Love, she defended them from the Attacks of other wild Beasts. A Wood-Pecker also lessen'd the Cares of the Wolf, by furnishing them with Corn, which she convey'd to them in her Mouth. They were afterwards brought up among the Shepherds. But now being grown to Man's Estate, and inform'd of their Extraction, their Courage was inspir'd with a new Vigour, and they blush'd at the Thoughts of circumscribing their Reputation within the narrow Limits of their Huts: Upon this, they immediately begin to reflect, how they may best revenge the Cause of their injur'd Grand-father *Numitor*. Him they restor'd to his Throne, by taking off *Amulius*. These, and such like astonishing Incidents, which the ancient Historians believ'd, or pretended to make us believe, are mere Fictions of their own Invention; in Order that a City, whose Founders the Gods had been so careful to preserve in so miraculous a manner, might be look'd upon with greater Respect and Veneration. Be that as it will, 'tis certain that

the Foundation of the City is generally attributed to the two Founders above-mention'd. The two Brothers, after they had reveng'd the Cause of their Grand-father, resolv'd to build a City near the Place where they had been expos'd. If some Authors are to be credited, this Spot, water'd by a noble River, and so advantageously situated for Commerce; this Spot, which Heaven intended to be the Theatre of such vast Designs, whose Empire was to extend all over the known Universe; this Spot, I say, was at that time no better than a frightful Desert. Nothing was then to be seen, but an almost inaccessible Forest of tall Trees, and a few Meadows that were in the Neighbourhood of it.

I. WE now see them disputing, after whose Name the Infant-City should be call'd. *Romulus* and *Remus*, as we are told, left the Decision of it to the Augury that should be taken from the Flight of Birds. *Remus* went upon Mount *Aventine*, where he saw six Vultures; *Romulus* a little after declar'd, that he had seen twelve from Mount *Palatine*, and as the Omen was propitious to him, he immediately trac'd out the Limits of that City round about the same Mountain. Scarce has he done this, but he was seiz'd with an Ambition of Reigning alone; and push'd on by Jealousy, sullies it with his Brother's Blood; dazled with the alluring Charms of Sovereign Power, he breaks the sacred Tye of fraternal Tenderness. Are we then to wonder, that a City, whose Foundations were laid in the Midst of Discord, should

should afterwards set the whole World in a Flame; that it should fill every Region with the Horrors of War; that the Liberty of every Nation should fall a Sacrifice to its Ambition: And Lastly, that nothing being now left for it to conquer, it should turn its Arms against itself, and labour after its own Ruin and Destruction?

THE next Thing in question, was, how to people this new City. *Romulus* had brought with him only a small Number of scatter'd People, the greatest Part Shepherds; but what Expedient does he make use of to encrease the Number of his Inhabitants? He proclaims his City a general *Asylum*, when immediately 'tis crouded with Criminals of every kind. Injustice and Impunity do here find a Refuge, which was not to be met with in any other Place; thus are they confounded with its first Inhabitants. To such low Beginnings did *Rome* owe its Original.

IF any One is desirous of forming an *Idea* to himself of this City, under the Government of its Founder, he may draw it from the Consideration of the Founder himself: *Romulus* was an ambitious and active Prince, having no Notion of Merit but what resulted from warlike Enterprizes; he was savage, morose, and cruel, I had almost said barbarous. He lays the Foundation of the most glorious Work upon Earth, and by a Fratricide gets the Sovereign Power into his own Hands: To people it, he has Recourse to Injustice and Impunity: To perpetuate and preserve his City, he makes use

use of Craft, Plunder, and Violence, and scandalously carries off his Neighbour's Daughters: To enlarge the Limits of his Infant-State, he raises the most unjust Wars, and makes it a Maxim to foment and maintain 'em: But after a Reign of thirty four Years, most of them spent in War, he at length dies, or is rather cut to pieces by his own Senators, according to some Authors, who cou'd no longer bear his severe and inclement Government. The most remarkable Circumstance in his Reign, was the Establishment of that most illustrious Body (the Senate) which, in Process of Time, became the most majestic and formidable Tribunal in the World. 'Tis even pretended, that he made many Regulations, and that nothing escap'd him, that might contribute to the Civilizing the rough and unpolish'd Tempers of those ancient *Romans*; yet was all his Care and Labour useless and ineffectual. But how was it possible it should be otherwise, when he was himself of so savage a Nature, and so opposite to those tender Emotions of Pity and Compassion. As all his Thoughts were bent upon War and Bloodshed, he inspir'd his People with the same Spirit with which himself was animated. And, indeed, during his whole Reign, his Subjects were look'd upon by their Neighbours, as so many Barbarians and Robbers: But notwithstanding the Rusticity and Asperity of these first Inhabitants of *Rome*, they yet had the Sense to chuse a good and virtuous King to succeed their deceased Founder. .

II. THE Fame of *Numa's* Merit had spread itself round about *Cures*, the City to which he ow'd his Birth. As the *Romans* now wanted a Sovereign, they are persuaded they cou'd not pitch upon a Person, that more deserv'd that Honour than *Numa*, or into whose Hands they might more safely entrust the Administration of the Government : They, therefore, waited upon him for that purpose, but could scarce prevail upon him to accept of it ; but when Persuasions and Intreaties were found ineffectual, they at last commit a kind of Violence upon his Modesty, and force him to ascend the Throne.

THIS Prince, to smoothe and soften the Temper of his Subjects, has Recourse to Arts quite opposite to those his Predecessor had employ'd. As his Inclinations naturally tended to Ease, he endeavours to preserve his Subjects in Peace and Tranquillity, and turns all his Thoughts to Religion ; but calls in *Artifice* to his Assistance, which we find very apt to make the strongest Impressions upon the Minds of Men. He establishes a Multitude of Ceremonies and Sacrifices, builds several Temples, proposes a considerable Number of Laws, and takes Care to make Choice of such, as should best contribute to the Settling of Regularity and Order ; and his Subjects being possess'd with the highest Notions of his Virtue and Integrity, immediately accept of whatever he cou'd lay before them, without discovering the least Dissatisfaction or Reluctance. It cannot, indeed, be deny'd, but that taking Advantage of the

Credu-

Credulity and Superstition, which at that Time had so great an Ascendant over 'em, he makes use of a pious Fraud to compleat his laudable Intentions. He tells 'em, that he held a private Correspondence with the Nymph *Egeria*, and that he was influenc'd in all his Actions by her immediate Inspirations. Thus, *Numa*, by his Prudence, found out the Secret to civilize these first *Romans*, and soften the Ruggedness of their Tempers ; but I dare not affirm, that he did not enervate their Courage, by the too great Encouragement he gave to Ease and Indolence.

III. *TULLUS HOSTILIUS*, who succeeded him in the Government, found it a very difficult Matter to awake them out of their Lethargy, and to turn their Minds to War ; but he at length inspires them with their first Vigour, which a long Peace had too much deadened. From this Period, the *Romans* began to have some Notions of Heroism, and to soar above themselves ; and soon after, was seen to break out that great Love for their Country, which afterwards gave Rise to the most illustrious Actions. The Defeat of the *Albans* furnishes us with a fine Instance on this Head.

THESE People, under the Reign of *Romulus*, had made an Alliance with the *Romans*, by which it was stipulated, that an eternal Peace shou'd be between the two Nations. But *Tullus Hostilius*, unable to suffer his Subjects to languish in Ease, finds out an Expedient to break a Treaty, which his Predecessors had so religiously

ously observ'd, and proclaims War against the
Albans.

SCARCE were the two Armies come within Sight of each other, when Tenderneſs and Compaſſion allays the Fury of their impetuous Heat; they both reflect upon the invaluable Worth of human Blood, and, in Conſequence of this Reflection, begin to conſider how they may beſt prevent the Effuſion of it. They, therefore, reſolve, that certain ſelect Perſons ſhould terminate the Diſpute by ſingle Combat *. They agree, that this ſhould be the Deciſive Stroke; and that the conquer'd Party ſhould immediately ſubmit to the Conquerors. For this Purpoſe, the *Romans* pitch upon three of their Country-men, who were Brothers; and the *Albans* do the like. Theſe fix Heroes bravely embrace the Propoſal, and generously venture their Lives for their Country's ſake. 'Tis well known, that Fortune, after having ſeem'd to be a conſiderable time in Suſpence, declares at laſt in Favour of the *Romans*, by beſtowing the Victory upon the Third *Horace*; but he tarniſhes the Glory of his Laurels by the Murder of his own Siſter, who wept, indeed, when News was told her of the good Succeſs of her Country; but that was owing to her inconſolable Affliction for the Death of her Lover, who was ſlain by her Brother's Hand. The Laws cry aloud for the Punishment of the Criminal, but he is ſhielded by his Valour; and the Glory of his Action throws a Shade over the Blackneſs of his Crime.

AFTER

* Combat of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*.

IV. AFTER the Death of *Hostilius*, *Ancus Martius* ascends the Throne: This Prince, who, as we are told, possess'd all the Qualities of his Grand-father *Numa*, discovers the same Inclinations for Peace; so that his Subjects now fall into those Amusements, which his Predecessor had labour'd with so much Industry to root out. He immediately bends all his Thoughts to Religious Affairs, and afterwards sets himself about the Improvement and Embellishment of the City.

V. THE first *Tarquin*, or, as he is otherwise call'd, *Tarquin the Ancient*, contributed as much to the Enlarging of his Dominions as *Ancus* had done. He invented several Ornaments, and gave peculiar Marks of Distinction, to heighten the Dignity and Lustre of the Senate; and, in Order to give the Empire a more august Air, employs himself, as his Predecessor had done before him, in Improving and Embellishing the City.

VI. *SERVIUS TULLIUS* did little, or nothing, during a Reign of 45 Years. His only Care consisted in making an exact Estimation of the Wealth of the Citizens; and dividing them into Tribes, the better to tax each of them according to his Substance, and in Proportion to the Exigencies of the State. This made him institute the *Census*, by which is understood a general Review of the People.

VII. WE, at last, behold the cruel and proud *Tarquin* seated upon the Throne. But how does he make his Way to it? By no less a Crime than Parricide. Thirsting after the Scepter, he pretends to look upon *Servius*, his Father, as an Usur-

Usurper, and thereupon gets him dispatch'd, and invests himself with the Power and Dignity of a King. *Rome* at that time beheld the blackest and most execrable Action that had ever been seen; for *Tullia*, a Princess, whose Cruelty and Pride was equal to that of her Husband, was returning from the Capitol, where she had been to congratulate her * *Tarquin's* Success; or, as other Historians have it, was hasting thither. Her Father's Body, yet weltring in its own Blood, happen'd to lye extended on the Ground as she pass'd along; but she, far from feeling any Emotion at so dismal a Spectacle, commands her Coachman to drive over it, and wou'd not suffer him to turn his Horses; and, if some Authors are to be credited, when her Coachman, struck with the mournful Sight, would have stopp'd, to give some Leisure to the Returns of Remorse; she calls out to him to go forward, telling him at the same time, that *The shortest Way to the Throne was the Best*. But to return to *Tarquin the Proud*, The Story of his Reign, and in what Manner the *Romans* chang'd the Form of their Despotic Government, and establish'd themselves under a Free State, is very well known. Pride, Cruelty, and Avarice were the Favourite Qualities of this Prince. He had forc'd the *Romans* to submit to his Tyrannical Yoke; he govern'd them with a Rod of Iron, and his Arbitrary Will was the only Law that was to be observ'd. How formidable must that Tyrant be, who valu'd a Man's Head no more than he did a *Poppy*!

and

* He was her Husband.

and who, in cold Blood, put to Death with the most exquisite Torments, the most considerable of his Captives! I shall present the Reader with an Instance of his blood-thirsty Temper, by the cruel Orders he gave *Sextus*. Now this *Sextus* was *Tarquin's* eldest Son, and had withdrawn himself to the *Gabii*, under the specious Pretext of flying from the ill Treatment of his Father. He was so great a Master of Deceit and Artifice, that he got the Government of the City into his Hands; when he immediately dispatches a Courier to *Tarquin*, for Instructions how he should act. The only Answer that *Tarquin* gave the Messengers was this, he carries them into the Garden, and in their Presence, with a Stick which he held in his Hand, strikes off the Heads of the tallest *Poppies*. When the Messengers were return'd, and had told *Sextus* what they had seen, he soon understood what his Father had in View; and immediately puts the principal *Gabii* to Death, and deprives the rest of their Liberty. But to return. The People, now groaning under *Tarquin's* Tyranny, waited only for an Opportunity to set themselves at Liberty; when a very fair one presented itself by the Death of the unhappy *Lucretia*.

SEXTUS, supported by the Authority of his Father, began to exercise his brutish Lust. Distractedly in Love with this virtuous Lady, who was one of the principal Women of the City, he surprises her alone, and adding Violence to Menaces, satisfies his guilty Flame. The violated Beauty, insupportable to herself,

is

is seiz'd with all the Horrors of Despair; she could not bear the Thoughts of surviving this Outrage, nor can pardon herself a Crime, which is owing to another's Guilt: She, therefore, sends for her Relations, to whom she relates the miserable and heart-breaking Story; then with repeated Entreaties to revenge her injur'd Honour, she stabs herself in their Presence, and thus expiates with her guiltless Blood a Crime, which this infamous Prince had perpetrated.

If we are to believe *Ovid*, the Chastity of this Beauty was conspicuous even to the very last: *She was careful (says he) not to fall in an indecent Posture, even in her expiring Moments.*

*Tunc quoq; jam moriens, ne non procumbat honeste
Respicit: hæc etiam cura Cadentis erat.*

Ovid. Fa. Bo. 2.

THIS Death, which was every Moment look'd upon with greater Horror, opens the Eyes of the *Romans*: They look upon it as a Way that discover'd itself to them, for the Recovery of their Liberty, and therefore set every Engine at Work to compleat so glorious an Enterprize.

BRUTUS, together with *Lucretius* and *Collatinus*, Husband to the deceased *Lucretia*, bring out the Body of this unfortunate Lady, and expose it to the publick View, thinking so miserable a Spectacle very proper to excite the Pity and Indignation of both Senate and People. In the Discourse he made, he endeavour'd to

C

inflame

inflame their Minds with the Spirit of Revenge, and urges them to drive *Tarquin*, his Wife, and Children out of *Rome*. 'Tis almost impossible to conceive the Impressions this Speech, join'd to the mournful Spectacle, made upon their Minds, or the Rage and Fury of the People. The only Strife was now, who should first take up Arms, to revenge *Lucretia's* Death. *Brutus* did not fail to make an Advantage of these happy Dispositions, and acted his Part so well, that the Monarchical Government of *Rome* was now chang'd into a Common-Wealth.

I HAVE hitherto discours'd of the first Age of *Rome*, that is of the Reigns of their seven Kings. We may easily perceive, that they contributed but very little to its Grandeur; and that consequently, the Historians have very justly call'd it the *Infancy of Rome*, as their Motions were but very slow and feeble at that time; and as in 240, and a few more Years, they had scarce extended their Dominion above fifteen Miles round their Walls. We may probably suppose, that the different *Genius* of their Kings was no small Check to their Progress, but * *Florus* is of Opinion, that "the various and different Talents
" of their seven Monarchs were absolutely necessary to the growing Progress of their State;
" and that their different Characters and Institutions had their several Uses". According to the same Historian, this very Tyranny of *Tarquin* was very advantageous to the *Romans*, since it gave Rise to the Establishment of the Common-wealth.

LET

* *Flor.* Lib. 1. cap. 8.

LET us now take a View of *Rome* under the Government of its *Consuls* ; that is to say, from the Time it left its Infant State to its arriving to the Summit of its Grandeur.

BRUTUS was then properly the Founder of their Liberty ; 'twas he that persuaded the oppress'd *Romans* , to throw off the Yoke of Monarchical Government, and to drive out of *Rome* a most execrable Tyrant : A Tyrant, who, after he had usurp'd the Sovereign Power, was so far from endeavouring to varnish over his Usurpation with some meritorious Action, that he endeavour'd, on the contrary, to establish himself in it by Fraud and Violence. When I seriously reflect upon the Conduct of *Brutus*, I dare not affirm, whether his Hatred of this last King was not greater in Proportion, than the Love he bore his Country ; and whether under the Pretence of setting the People at Liberty, and revenging them of his Tyranny, he had not his own private Revenge at heart ; since 'tis certain, he was odious to him in whatever Light he view'd him. 'Tis very well known, that *Tarquin* had not only put his Brother to Death, but also his Father ; that *Brutus*, to avoid the same Fate, and to appear incapable of revenging it, had been forc'd to counterfeit the Idiot ; and, indeed, he acted his Part with the most profound Dissimulation during *Tarquin's* Reign, waiting, with the utmost Impatience, till the happy Moment shou'd offer itself, that might bring about a Revolution.

BE that as it will, *Rome* now seeing herself at Liberty, was resolv'd to put herself under

the Government of such Masters, to whom she might not be so subject, as to prevent her commanding them also. 'Twas with this View that they created * *two Consuls* ; whose Authority was but of one Year's Continuance, and was divided equally between them both. These Magistrates had all the exterior Marks of the sovereign Power, as the *Purple Robe*, the *Ivory Chair of State*, the *Lictors*, the † *Fasces*, or *Rods*, and all the other Tokens that accompany the regal Dignity ; but their Power was not so extensive as that of their Kings. The latter knew no other Laws but their Will, and would not compare themselves to any Thing less than a GOD : The *Consuls* on the contrary were the Persons, whose Business it was to see the Laws executed ; and the *Common-wealth* exercis'd its Authority by Virtue of their Administration. They had the Power to assemble the *Senate* and the *People* ; but were restrain'd from acting, unless authoris'd by the Decree of one of those Bodies. So that it was almost an Impossibility for them to be the immediate Cause of any Error.

ROME, whose Sufferings had been so great under the Lash of *Tarquin's Tyranny*, knew very well, that the Duration of any Command gives Opportunity, even to a lawful Authority

* *Lucius Junius Brutus* and *Tarquin Collatinus*, Husband to *Lucretia*, were the two first Consuls.

† Twenty four *Fasces*, or *Bundles of Rods*, were carry'd before their first Consuls ; but they were soon after reduc'd to twelve by the Advice of *Publicola*. They were not carry'd before both the Consuls at the same time, but each had them by turns monthly.

to degenerate into Violence ; that a Prince invested with a Power which is to expire but with his Life ; who does not acknowledge a Power superior to himself, capable of curbing any of his Actions ; who is not so happy as to meet with any One that dares censure his Conduct ; who is surrounded with none but a Company of base Flatterers, who not only make a Merit of soothing his Passions, but are continually degrading his Mind with new Ones ; who, not satisfy'd to bestow the most lavish Praise upon his most infamous Actions, make it their Glory to copy after them ; who are eternally upon the Watch, to prevent the Approaches of Truth ; who either sink every Duty into Oblivion, or prevent his being acquainted with them ; *Rome*, I say, knew that a Prince, rais'd to so great a Degree of Sovereignty and Independence, soon forgets the binding Obligations between a Father and his People, that he swallows a thousand Scruples, stifles every Regard, and that giving a loose to every Passion, his Subjects may well fear the blackest Catastrophes from his loose and irregular Government: 'Twas these, or such like Considerations, which made the *Romans* prescribe Limits to the Government of their new Magistrates. These last, when reflecting upon their first Condition, to which they must return at the Year's End ; and knowing that when that Time was expir'd, every private Person had the Liberty of summoning them before the supream Tribunal of the People, to give an Account of their Administration ; be-

hav'd themselves in a kind and affable Manner; made them strictly avoid every Occasion of Reproach, and endeavour to gain the Praise and Favour of their Fellow-Citizens, that they might not repent the Choice they had made; so that they strove who shou'd render their Administration most useful to the Common-wealth, and most glorious to the State.

IN the mean Time, the People were so much elevated with the Transports of their Liberty, that they cou'd hardly persuade themselves they were free; they now endeavour'd to rival each other in Eagerness and Zeal for its Support: These were the Seeds, which afterwards produc'd those boasted Virtues, for which the *Romans* became so famous; I mean that great Love of their Country, which burnt with so bright a Flame, that it frequently stole a Man from himself, and made him insensible to all the tender Impulses of Nature; that generous Disinterestedness, whose Inspirations made them always prefer the Interest of the Publick to their Own; that Simplicity of Manners, which made them averse to every kind of Luxury, and gave them a noble Dis taste for every Thing that tended to enervate the Mind; that Justice, that Integrity, that Innocence which shone out in all their Actions; that Intrepidity in the greatest Dangers; that Fire and Vigour in Battle; that Asperity of Temper which increas'd under Difficulties; that unparallel'd Generosity which inspir'd them with a Resolution, of preserving even their Destroyers, preventing their falling into those

those Snares which were laid for them, and screening them from domestick Treason; and lastly, that Contempt of Life, by which those brave Spirits were always ready to sacrifice them for the Good of their Country.

WE now behold a * *Consul*, who, finding his Sons guilty of holding a traiterous Correspondence with the Tyrants, drags them into the *Forum*, pronounces himself the Sentence of Death, and makes them fall by the infamous Hand of the common Executioner. We afterwards see †.another, who, far from acting with that Pride, so often seen in those that govern, whose only View is their own private Interest; we see him, I say, prefer a Law, that very much lessens the Authority of his Dignity, by which any One has Leave to appeal from the Consuls to the People. 'Tis sometimes an || illustrious *Roman*, who alone defends a Bridge against a whole Army; who, after they have cut off his Retreat by breaking it down, plunges himself arm'd into the *Tyber*, and swims back to his Country-men, over-joy'd that he had sav'd his Country from the impending Yoke. Or 'tis ** another, who calmly exposes his Hand to the Violence of the Flames, because it had fail'd in the Attempt it made, to dispatch the Protector of Tyranny. 'Tis sometimes a †† young Heroine, who, escaping from an Enemy to whom she had been given in Quality of Hostage, throws herself into the *Tyber*, and crosses

* *Brutus.* † *Valerius Publicola.* || *Horatius Cocles.*
** *Mutius Cordus Scævola.* †† *Clelia.*

it on Horse-back, to return to her Country. Or 'tis a * Mother, at the Sight of whose Tears a rebellious Son lets fall his Arms, and by that Means saves her Country from the Ruin it was threaten'd with. 'Tis here a numerous Family of † illustrious *Romans*, who generously venture their Lives for the Security of their Country. There we behold an illustrious || *Citizen*, busied in Ploughing his Grounds with his own Hands, whom they force from that sweet and innocent Retirement, and invest with the sovereign Command; and what is most surprizing, after he has set their Affairs upon a happy Footing, he returns to his rural Recess, and resumes his Plough. 'Tis now the *Roman Ladies*, who freely offer up the most valuable Part of their Substance, to accomplish the Vow of a ** famous *Dictator*. At another Time, the Senators seeing *Rome* expos'd to the Mercy of a †† barbarous Enemy, refuse to retire to the Capitol, which was strong enough to shield them from their blood-thirsty Swords; but they, on the contrary, wait calmly for Death, and will not rise off from their Seats: These venerable Old Men, cloath'd in the Robes of their Order, are fix'd and immoveable; the Enemy at first Sight take them for so many *Gods*, *Genii*, or *Statues*; who wou'd have thought they had betray'd the Honour and Dignity of the Republick, had they discover'd the least Weakness, or offer'd to withdraw themselves from the Hand of the Conque-

* *Veturia*, Mother to *Coriolanus*. † The *Fabii*. || *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*. ** *Camilla*. †† The *Gauls*.

ror. Here 'tis a * *Consul*, who puts his own Son to Death, for exceeding the Limits of his Commission, tho' he had by that Means perform'd a very glorious Action. There 'tis † another illustrious *Roman*, who devotes himself to the *God of Hell*, and rushes upon Death in the midst of his Foes, to open a new Way to Victory with his Blood. Lastly, 'Tis from the same Spirit, that the || *Romans*, big with a noble Abhorrence of a treacherous Physician, who offer'd to dispatch his own Sovereign *Pyrrhus* by Poison, give him an Account of the whole Affair, and send the Traitor back loaded with Chains to his injur'd Monarch. They were desirous of vanquishing with their own Arms, and wou'd not prostitute the Rules of Justice to rid themselves of an Enemy.

WE are not then to wonder, that a Republick, happy in the Severity of its Manners, join'd to the finest System of Politicks, which made it always unite with the weakest Side, the better to destroy the Oppressor, and the more potent: We are not to wonder, I say, if it found out the Secret of multiplying its Conquests, and carrying its Arms by insensible Degrees into all the Parts of the known World. But we must, indeed, own, that the *Romans* were happy, even in the Midst of their ill Fortune. They had seen themselves, more than once, at the very Brink of Ruin. How could they possibly have shielded themselves from the

* *Manlius Torquatus*. † *Decius Mus*. || *Fabricius*, the Roman General.

Resentments of *Coriolanus*, when their Affairs were at a very low Ebb, had it not been for the Tears that his Wife and Mother shed? What wou'd have become of them, when after the Defeat of their Army, *Rome* was in the Possession of the *Gauls*, and their only Refuge was the Capitol, had it not been for the Alarm that was given by the Geese, the Valour of *Manlius*, and the Succours brought them by *Camilla*? How low wou'd this now great and flourishing State have sunk, had the famous *Hannibal* but understood as well how to make his Advantage of a Victory, as he did to gain it? This General, who had hitherto discover'd a Soul undaunted by the greatest Difficulties, and whose Resolution the *Alps* cou'd not conquer, is at last ruin'd by too great a Series of Victories. He sets down in a * City whose Situation delighted him, and imagining his Glory was sufficiently establish'd by the Conquests he had already made, or fearing to lose it, if he shou'd be so unfortunate as to fail in any of his future Enterprizes, he gives himself up a Prey to Ease, and all the alluring Blandishments of a soft and effeminate Life; and thus, by his Imprudence, furnishes the *Romans* with an Opportunity of recovering their Losses. So that 'twas justly said, *that Capua had been as fatal to Hannibal, as Cannæ had been to the Romans.* But still Fate was resolv'd that *Rome* should be the Capital of the Universe. Let us stop for a Moment, and consider this Republick now shining forth in all its Majesty and Power.

* *Capua.*

“ I believe, says a Modern-† Author, that this
 “ Republick was the first that ever carry’d the
 “ pretended Right of Conquest to so great a
 “ Length, and form’d so vast, so glorious a
 “ Plan of Sovereignty. It has been said, that
 “ the World stood awefully silent in the Pre-
 “ sence of *Alexander*; but methinks, this *Idea*,
 “ which conveys something very noble to the
 “ Mind, may be more justly apply’d to the
 “ *Romans*. And indeed, if *Alexander* did ob-
 “ lige the World to be respectfully silent, we
 “ must yet be forc’d to own, that he acted
 “ no otherwise than like a rash, hot-headed
 “ Youth. All this bold Son of War did, was
 “ to strike the World with a transient Ter-
 “ ror; like to those mighty Storms, which
 “ suddenly affright Mankind, but are not of
 “ any long Continuance. But the *Romans*, on
 “ the contrary, rais’d the immense Edifice of
 “ their Greatness upon durable and solid Foun-
 “ dations; they extended their Usurpations in
 “ a methodical Way, and discover’d in their
 “ Progress the Result of a System of Ambi-
 “ tion and Politicks, that had been finely in-
 “ terwoven. Every Design was of a vast
 “ Length, and the smallest Expedition made
 “ way for the greatest Projects; for they were
 “ expert at finding out the happiest Methods,
 “ and seldom mistook in the Execution of
 “ them. These were the Steps, by which
 “ those *Republicans* ascended to the most ele-

* Mr. Guedeville in his first Essay on the Roman History.

“ vated Pitch of human Grandeur, and brought
 “ about so surprizing a Revolution in the
 “ World. States and Sovereignities fell down
 “ before them ; powerful Monarchies were
 “ astonish’d to see themselves conquer’d ; and
 “ they could not sufficiently admire, that a
 “ single City, which had existed but a few
 “ Centuries, should give Laws to the most an-
 “ cient and flourishing States in the Universe.

“ BUT we here meet with a very remark-
 “ able Circumstance, which is, that the *Ro-*
 “ *mans* enslav’d a great Part of the World,
 “ under the glaring and specious Pretexts of
 “ Liberty. They bore a most inveterate Ha-
 “ tred to Monarchy, and were fill’d with Hor-
 “ ror at the bare Mention of the Name of
 “ King ; and thought it intolerable, that a
 “ numerous Body of Men should yield an
 “ implicit Submission to the Capricio and Ar-
 “ bitrary Power of one single Person ; to this
 “ was owing their great Contempt of the re-
 “ gal Dignity. Yet at the same Time, these
 “ eternal Applauders of Liberty and Proper-
 “ ty were the very Men that broke through
 “ all the Laws of Nature and Nations, and
 “ tyranniz’d over their Fellow Creatures. The
 “ same unlawful Power, which inflam’d them
 “ to overturn Thrones, dash in pieces Crowns,
 “ and annihilate Monarchy ; with the same
 “ Power they establish’d in every Place a de-
 “ spotic Sway, which was so much the more
 “ unjust, as both Kings and Subjects fell undistin-
 “ guish’d under the same Captivity : So that
 “ the *Romans* satisfy’d their insatiable Ambi-
 “ tion,

" tion, at the same Time that they profess'd
 " the greatest Love to Justice and Equity, and
 " laid the World in Chains, tho' they them-
 " selves had an Aversion to Servitude. Their
 " surprizing Success did not fail to puff up
 " their Pride, and inspire them with that
 " Haughtiness, which they preserv'd even to
 " their Subjection. Their Ministers wou'd often
 " make a Monarch tremble, tho' surrounded with
 " all the Pomp and Majesty of his Court :
 " They deliver'd themselves in those Places in
 " a menacing, terrible, and haughty Tone.
 " The formidable and triumphant Fortune of
 " their Republick spake thro' their Mouths ;
 " and their grave, concise, sententious Manner
 " of Delivery, declar'd the unlimited Power
 " of that Nation. Such Kings, as had had
 " the ill Fortune to come under their Yoke,
 " no longer govern'd, but under such Restric-
 " tions, as the *Romans* were pleas'd to pre-
 " scribe to 'em. They had stripp'd them of
 " that Privilege so dear, so precious to all So-
 " vereign Princes : That Privilege, by Virtue
 " of which they think themselves responsible
 " to Heaven only for their Conduct ; for they
 " sometimes oblig'd them to appear before the
 " Senate in Quality of Defendants, when these
 " latter thought themselves more than happy,
 " if they but declar'd 'em innocent. This
 " Haughtiness in the Body soon spread itself
 " into the several Members, and from the ge-
 " neral descended to the particular. A Citizen
 " of *Rome* wou'd not have smooth'd the Rug-
 " gedness of his Brow, in the Presence of the
 " great-

“greatest Monarch: These Citizens, I say,
“thought their own municipal Laws more
“valuable, than the Reins of regal Govern-
“ment; and ’twas justly said, *that Rome was*
“*a School, wherein Monarchs were taught that*
“*there was such a Thing in Nature as a Supe-*
“*riority to Kings, without the Dignity and Splen-*
“*dor of a Crown.*

BUT alas! this mighty Republick, at a Time when it reign’d over a thousand Nations, was far from Commanding over itself: But how fatal was its Prosperity, and how much Blood did it spill, to preserve, and maintain its precious Liberty!

AFTER the Ruin of *Carthage*, of *Corinth*, and of *Numantia*, *Rome*, tho’ still jealous of preserving its Glory and Power within Doors, was yet greatly chang’d in respect to its Citizens: Those Citizens, who had formerly discover’d a Spirit, which no Difficulty was able to surmount; which was far from sinking at the Sight of Danger and Fatigue; who had so often brav’d Death in the most frightful Shapes; these very *Romans*, I say, yielded themselves up an inglorious Prey to Ease and Affluence; and ’twas from this fatal Degeneracy, that *Rome* met with its Destruction in its Happiness, and its Ruin in its Grandeur. The Desire of Accumulating *Wealth*, which was afterwards the most prevailing Passion, began first to discover itself; afterwards arose that *Ambition* and *Thirst* after Dignities and Honours, and both of them united were the Sources of all their Misfortunes.

Ava-

Avarice soon banish'd Plain-dealing, Justice, Probity, and all the social Virtues; and gave way to Pride, Cruelty, the Contempt of the Gods, and a mercenary Prostitution of all Things. Ambition taught them the Arts of Treachery and Diffimulation, and the insidious Employment of good or bad Expedients to gain their several Ends. These Vices grew up beneath the Eye, and were sometimes punish'd; but when, like a pestiferous Distemper, they had diffus'd their Venom in all Places, there was a new Face of Things in the City; and that Government, which was once so famous for Lenity and Justice, degenerated afterwards into Cruelty and Oppression.

AT first, Ambition, rather than Avarice, was the darling Passion of these People; and tho' it was the Foundation of many Evils, yet there were others that produc'd more pernicious Effects. The Nobility and Commons endeavour'd to rival each other in the Integrity of their several Administrations; one wou'd have thought they strove to excel each other in the arduous Pursuits of Glory, Preferment and Authority; which Emulation was, indeed, a Kind of Advantage to the State. We must own, however, that if some of them succeeded by the laudable Methods of Justice and Uprightness; yet many having no such Claim to Merit, employ'd the meanest Artifices, such as Bribery and Imposition.

BUT after *Sylla* had got the Sovereign Power into his Hands, Ambition, Avarice, Luxury, Violence and Rapine started up in their most
ter-

terrible Shapes; Integrity vanish'd, Justice, basely abandon'd by her most zealous Followers, withdrew her divine Influence; Honesty and Probity were now no more, so that one wou'd have been apt to conclude, that all the *Roman* Virtues were exhausted; for now 'twas almost infamous to appear virtuous. A Thirst after Riches became the Motive of all their Actions. One was for seizing upon Houses, another upon Lands; so that the Conquerors disdain'd to be restrain'd by Law or Equity, but employ'd every Cruelty to vex and grieve the Citizens. *Sylla* himself was the Occasion of these Disorders; he had neglected the ancient Severity of their Discipline; and in order to gain the Affections of the Army he had commanded in *Asia*, he suffers them to degenerate, by giving a loose to Disorder and Confusion. These delightful Places, in which the Soldiers had enjoy'd so great a Tranquility, soften'd their rough Tempers, and enervated their Courage. Incharmed with the Sweets they met with in those Countries, they had given themselves up a Prey to the engaging Blandishments of Sense: 'Twas there they abandon'd themselves to Drunkenness, Gluttony and Lust. They gaz'd with admiring Eyes upon the Pictures, the Statues, the carv'd Vases; their Admiration soon grew up into a Desire of possessing them: They at first stole them privately, but afterwards carry'd them off by Force, and that too in the Face of the whole World; they plunder'd the Temples of their most precious Ornaments, nor could any thing escape their sacrilegious Hands. When these

these Soldiers saw they had nothing to fear, they tyranniz'd over the Conquer'd, as if they had forgot the tender Inspirations of Humanity and Compassion. 'Twas not, indeed, to be expected that Minds now so degenerated and corrupted should discover the least Moderation in their Victories; since the wisest Men often find it a difficult Task to keep themselves within due Bounds, when surrounded with Affluence and Prosperity. Thus when *Riches* began to grow into Esteem, and that by their Means a Way lay open to Glory and Power, they blotted out of their Remembrance their original Sentiments, which made a Virtue of Poverty. But now Poverty was look'd upon as infamous, Innocence as criminal; Interest usurp'd the Place of Honour, the Love of Pleasure succeeded to their insuperable Bravery: In a word, Pride banish'd their native Simplicity of Manners. Those generous *Romans*, whose only Glory had been to brave Dangers and Death, and who sought after Immortality from their heroick Actions, were now no more. They were now degenerated into a base and effeminate Sett of Men, whose only Emulation was to exceed each other in Luxury and Profusion, in the Costliness and Extravagance of their Entertainments, in their pompous Equipages, and the Multitude of their Domesticks; he who had a *Genius* to refine their Pleasures, and furnish them always with a new Supply, was consider'd as a Man of Merit. The Men prostituted themselves as to many Women, and what gave a Relish to the Pleasure was its Guilt, and its Opposition

to Nature. They no more endeavour'd to sur-
pass each other in supporting Fatigues, but
sent their whole Thoughts to prevent the Avo-
cations of Nature. They abandon'd themselves
to Sleep before their Bodies call'd upon them
for that Refreshment ; an indolent Effeminacy
made them outstrip the Demands of Hunger,
Cold, and Weariness : They strove to outshine
each other in the Splendor of their Dress :
They eagerly sought after the most sumptuous
Furniture, and the Magnificence of their Hou-
ses exceeded that of their Temples. In this
general Confusion, they squar'd all their Actions
according to the Diversity of their Conditions.
Such as were honour'd with any Character of
Distinction were for grasping after Authority,
while the venal Soul satisfy'd itself in accu-
mulating Wealth by any Methods. The Rich
threw about their Substance with lavish Hands,
when they had any lucrative Design in View ;
while such, on whom Fortune had not been
so liberal of her Favours, set every Spring at
Work, to disengage themselves from a Poverty,
that was now become so troublesome. They
gave themselves up to the highest Bidder, and
sold their Voices. Merit was no longer a Path
that led to Dignity and Preferment ; nothing
was seen but Intrigue, Faction, and Partiality,
which was as prevalent in the Senate as with
the People. To sum up all in one Word, this
mighty City, which once appear'd to be the
Retreat of all the social Virtues, was now be-
come the Habitation of all Crimes and Vices.

IN the whole, 'tis an easy Matter to perceive that this proud Republick is hastening to its Ruin. As it was no longer able to preserve the Cement of all Things, *Union*, could any Thing but Destruction ensue? It was now at the *Summit* of its Grandeur, and was altogether incapable of supporting the Weight of it.

THEY already conspire its Ruin. * A Citizen of an illustrious Family, whom Profusion and Luxury had made as poor as he was criminal, that he might screen himself from Justice, and change the melancholy Situation of his Affairs, at a Time when the *Roman* Ensigns are flying in the Extremities of the Universe; while a general Corruption had over-run the City, associates with a Band of Villains as infamous as himself; when they form a Design to oppress their Country, to massacre the Senate, murder the Consuls; to set Fire to the several Corners of the City, to plunder the publick Treasury; and, in a word, to tear in pieces the Common-wealth; and as *Florus* says, to perpetrate what *Hannibal*, tho' a sworn Enemy to the *Romans*, would perhaps have never so much as thought of. Who would have imagin'd, that the most illustrious, the most distinguish'd Personages of *Rome* were his Accomplices? But Nature starts back with Horror, at the very Reflection on the Manner of their Association. *Catiline* presents to every Member of it a Cup fill'd with Wine mix'd with human Blood;

* *Salust's Catiline.*

that as they all drank of the same Blood, they might give themselves that Union which Nature had refus'd ; and, as a Consequence of it, that their Wills, their Inclinations might be One, and that they might never betray one another.

NOTHING could have prevented the Destruction of the most glorious Empire the World ever saw, had not this Conspiracy broke out under the Consulates of *Cicero* and *Anthony*. The Former discovers it ; they seize and punish some of the Criminals ; the Other marches against the Author of the Plot, whom they had suffer'd imprudently to escape, and who had now drawn up together a considerable Body of Troops ; he falls upon him, when those abandon'd Wretches resolv'd neither to yield, nor to suffer themselves to be taken Prisoners, but dye like *Desperadoes*, sell their Lives at the dearest Rate ; nor could by Death be forc'd from the several Posts, which had been assign'd them at the Beginning of the Engagement : Nay, even when dead, they still discover a threatening and terrible Air.

ROME no sooner saw itself out of Danger, but it turn'd its Thoughts to the Enjoyment of its Liberty, its Grandeur, and its Affluence, when the Storm arose that was to be its Destruction ; Fortune, wearied with lavishing her Favours upon that City, now envied its Happiness, and made it turn its Arms into its own Bowels. *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, the two most illustrious Generals of the Republick, begin to grow jealous of one another ;
they

they envy each other's Glory and Reputation, and meditate nothing but Destruction. Their Hatred is soon perceiv'd, and in Order to prevent the horrid Consequences of it, they insensibly endeavour a Reconciliation, by marrying one of them to the other's Daughter. While *Julia* liv'd, she maintain'd an Union between the Father-in-Law and Son; but no sooner was she dead, but it broke, and the Jealousy, which had been for a Time stifi'd between these two great Generals, began now to break out afresh. *Pompey* begins to view *Cæsar's* Riches with a suspicious Eye, and *Cæsar* takes no little Umbrage at the Dignity and shining Reputation of *Pompey*. The One could not bear the very Mention of an Equal, the Other of a Superior. Surprizing Thought! They dispute for Precedency, as if the Empire of the World was incapable of satisfying the ambitious Thirst of Both. At *Rome Pompey* endeavours to ruin the great Credit *Cæsar* had gain'd by his excessive Profusions, by his numberless Victories, and his Conquests in *Gaul*. He employs every Art to strip him of his Administration, and get him recall'd; but all his Endeavours are ineffectual, he is forc'd to yield to Faction, and *Cæsar's* Party. *Pompey's* Friends now make their last Struggle. A Decree had been made, by which *Cæsar* was empower'd to be chosen Consul in his Absence: but they, under Pretence of that Absence; pretend to refuse him the Accession to that Dignity. The Senate commands him to disband his Army, to return to *Rome*, and sue for that Dignity, in

the usual Forms, and pursuant to the Laws. *Cæsar*, enrag'd at their Breach of Promise, makes this a Pretence not to quit his Government; upon which they proclaim War against him as an Enemy to his Country. This celebrated Conqueror, seeing himself the Darling of a Victorious Army, forms a Design to turn those very Arms against his own Country, which his Superiors had order'd him to employ against their Enemies. He flies to the Banks of the *Rubicon*; when immediately betaking himself to Reflection, he is for some Time in Suspence, whether it were better for him to pass that River, or return back; but at last an extraordinary Omen encourages him to proceed. He then crosses it with his Army. 'Twas then he pronounc'd those memorable Words, *Let us go where the extraordinary Omen of the Gods, and the Injustice of our Enemies call us: The Die is cast.* He was no sooner on the other Side, but he tears his Robes in the Presence of the *Tribunes*, who were come to wait upon him with Eyes full of Tears: He implores the Assistance of his Soldiers, in the most tender, the most pathetic Expressions: He lays before them the Injustice of his Enemies, and how he had been compell'd to take up Arms against them, and immediately advances towards *Rome*. All the Cities of *Italy* tremble at his Approach, and set open their Gates to him; nothing is able to oppose his Valour. *Pompey* himself, and his Friends, greatly astonish'd at the Progress he makes, but much more at his Diligence, retire with great

Pre-

Precipitation; they cross the Sea, and hasten to *Theffaly*, in hopes of Meeting a better Fortune in that Place.

CÆSAR advances to *Rome*, and enters it in Quality of Sovereign. The City pays such an implicate Submission to him, that one wou'd have concluded, it had long been accustom'd to Slavery. * *Metellus*, one of the *Tribunes* of the People, is the only Man, that has a Soul intrepid enough to oppose himself against *Cæsar*, now going to seize upon the Treasure, which was kept in the Temple of *Saturn*. *Cæsar* laughs at his Opposition, and the Laws he is reminded of. He marches on to the Place where the Treasure lay, and finds it shut up; and upon their Refusal to give him the Keys of it, he commands his Soldiers to break open the Gates. *Metellus* again opposes him; *Cæsar* threatens to kill him; *Young Man*, says he, *you know 'tis much easier for me to do, than threaten it*. Upon this the *Tribune* withdraws himself, without making any further Resistance, and leaves him to plunder it at Pleasure.

CÆSAR, after he had made the City accept of such Conditions as he was pleas'd to favour it with, goes over into *Spain*; but pronounces these pompous Words before his Setting out, † *That he was going to fall upon an Army without a Leader; and that afterwards he wou'd fall upon a Leader without an Army*. He was not long before he return'd triumphantly to *Rome*. At his Coming he makes himself be

* *Vide* Mr. Bayle under the Word *Metellus*. † *Suetonius*.

declar'd *Dictator*, and a few Days after *Consul*. He immediately hastens to *Greece*, in Order to attack his Enemy; he comes up with him near *Pharsalia*, and defeats him in those Plains. The vanquish'd *Pompey* flies to *Egypt*. *Cæsar*, far from being dazled with the Splendor of his Victory, reflects that his Rival is still living, and resolves not to leave his Work half done. His first Cares are employ'd in considering how he may best pursue him, to prevent his having the Time to assemble together the scatter'd Remains of his Army.

WE now behold *Pompey*, given up a Prey to his Misfortunes. This great Man, who, a little before, made every One tremble in his Presence: He, who seem'd to have led Fortune in Chains; and whose shining Reputation had justly merited him the Sirname of *Great*, is now reduc'd to so low an Ebb, that he knows not where to fly for Refuge. When he finds himself ready to fall into *Cæsar's* Hands, he flies to the Court of a Monarch, who was oblig'd to him for his Crown, expecting naturally to meet a Friend in him. But this base and perfidious Prince, under the infamous Pretence of gratifying the Conqueror, sends his Benefactor a Company of Ruffians, instead of Succouring him. The unhappy * *Pompey* is assassinated, and dies upon the Coast of *Egypt* in the Sight of his Wife and Children; and to compleat his Wretchedness, falls by the Hands of *Septimius*, who had formerly serv'd under him, but who had now basely abandon'd him.

They

* *Florus*.

They cut off his Head, and carry it to *Cæsar*. This melancholy Spectacle throws him into Tears, and he revenges the Hero's Death, by sacrificing that Prince to his *Manes*, who had been the Cause of it.

WHAT are we to think of these Tears ! He, to whose Ambition Thousands of Men had been sacrific'd, cannot refrain weeping, when he hears of the Murder of that very Man, whose Destruction he had sworn, and whose Death now puts him in full Possession of the Empire. Was he sorry that he did not fall by his Hand ? Or, that he had not him in his Power, to insult him at Pleasure, and serve to illustrate his Triumph ? Was it from a Principle of Generosity, that he regretted the Loss of a Man, who had so long been odious to him ? How suspicious is this Behaviour ! *Cæsar* soon dry'd up his Tears in the Arms of the beautiful *Cleopatra* : He sets the Crown of *Egypt* upon the Head of this Princess, after the Defeat and Death of *Ptolemy* ; when the War that was carrying on in *Pontus*, where the * Son of *Mithridates* had rebell'd, calling aloud for his Presence, he flies there, and like a Thunder-bolt that rushes in a Moment from the Clouds, strikes and disappears ; he falls upon him, overthrows him, and forces him to lay violent Hands upon himself ; and all this in an Instant. 'Twas this made that Emperor say, *That he had conquer'd his Enemy before he had seen him.*

* *Pbarnaces.*

CÆSAR, with his accustom'd Vigilance, Dispatch and Fire, flies immediately into *Africk*. In this Part of the World he finds Victory as auspicious to him, as she had been in all other Places. He afterwards hastens to *Spain*, where *Pompey's* Sons had renew'd the War to revenge the Death of their Father. Many Battles were fought, in which *Cæsar* always came off Conqueror; but that of *Munda*, which was the last, had like to have been fatal to him. The Victory was doubtful for a long Time. His Soldiers, accustom'd to conquer, appear desponding and dejected; Fortune discovers an Irresolution, so that One wou'd have thought, that she was considering whether she shou'd except *Cæsar* from the general Rule, which is to abandon her Friends after she had rais'd them, and in one single Day to discount for all the Favours she had been heaping upon them for so many Years. *Cæsar* himself, who had always discover'd the most undaunted Soul, now appears melancholy and dejected; whether it was owing to the Reflection he made upon the Inconstancy of all sublunary Things; or that he began to look upon so uninterrupted a Series of Prosperity with a suspicious Eye; or lastly, whether seeing himself to be, what *Pompey* once was, he might probably be under some Apprehension of meeting with a like Fate. But what *Cæsar* had never yet seen, or indeed, ever could have thought of seeing, his Veteran Soldiers basely give ground after fourteen Years Service; in which Time they had given a thousand shining Proofs of their Bravery; and if they might not yet

yct be said to fly, 'twas rather a Sense of Shame than their Courage that prevented it. *Cæsar*, exasperated at their Cowardice, leaps from his Horse, and runs with Rage and Madness to the Head of his Forces. He himself stops his Soldiers, who were now running away: He encourages them: He flies from Rank to Rank, and visits every Quarter in his Army in an Instant. We are even told, that his Distraction was so great; that he was going to throw himself upon his Sword. But on a sudden his Troops begin to revive, when they seize a Victory out of the Hands of the Enemy, which, One wou'd have thought, Fate had decreed shou'd fall to their Share. *Cæsar*, having thus put an End to the Civil War that had rag'd all over the Globe, returns to *Rome* to gather the Fruits of his victorious Arms. And the better to satisfy his Thirst after Sovereignty, he maintains himself in Favour with the Soldiery, by his great Largesses and Liberalities: He endeavours to insinuate himself into the Favour of the People by Gifts, pompous Shews, and splendid Entertainments: In a word, being now no longer under any Apprehensions from a Competitor, and finding that the whole World paid him the most implicit Obedience, he seizes upon the sovereign Power, and, by Virtue of it, disposes of all Things at Pleasure under the Title of *Dictator*.

SUCH is the Foundation of the EMPIRE. Let us now take a View of this Prince after his Usurpation. Flattery becomes the reigning Principle in the Senate: This Tribunal, once
so

so jealous of its Liberty, now decrees such mighty Honours to the Tyrant, that we can scarce enough admire the Spirit of Slavery, which discover'd itself on this Occasion. But we must observe at the same Time, that there was a great Mixture of Republican Craft in it. And indeed, the Moment the Senators perceiv'd, that he express'd an uncommon Satisfaction at the great and honourable Distinctions they confer'd upon him, they rack'd their Imaginations to invent such as were unlimited and unbounded, the sooner to make him odious to the People, and precipitate his Destruction.

Plutarch, in the Life of this Emperor, observes, that the Enemies of *Cesar* were not less vigorous in promoting those Decrees, than those who flatter'd him. 'Tis certain, that some of them were push'd on with a true Spirit of Flattery, while others thought of nothing but despising him. Some were of Opinion, that a Decree should be made, by which he should be empower'd to enjoy any Woman he lik'd; for he had great Numbers of that Sex at his Service, tho' he was upwards of fifty. But he was not aware of the Deceit, he suffer'd himself to be dazl'd by the Splendor of the Decrees the Senate made in his Favour; his Countenance discover'd, that he was persuaded they were the Result of his Merit; and he forgot himself so far, that he wou'd not one Day condescend to rise up, when the Senate were coming to present him with the Decrees, by which he receiv'd a new Accession of Honour. This haughty Conduct, and the odious
Title

Title of King, that his Favourites sought to dignify him with, and which he himself appear'd so fond of, were the chief Causes of his Ruin. "Those Honours they had bestow'd upon him, says *Florus*, were in Reality so many "Garlands, with which they had dress'd him "as a Victim mark'd out for Slaughter." They at last open their Eyes, the Yoke begins to sit very heavy upon 'em, and they endeavour to shake it off. *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and some other Patricians, are of Opinion that the most infallible Expedient wou'd be to dispatch the Usurper; they therefore form a Conspiracy against his Life. The Senate-house was chosen to be the Theatre of it, and was thought the most proper Place for Liberty to shake off her Chains. How powerful are the Decrees of Fate! A Rumour was spread in all Places, that a Plot was hatching: The very Day it was to break out, *Cæsar* had an Account of the whole Affair put into his Hands, and at the same time, that he sacrifices an hundred Victims, not one of 'em portends any Thing in his Favour. He yet goes undaunted to the Senate, and is miserably assassinated in that Place. Each Conspirator is eagerly impatient to strike the mortal Blow, and he has the killing Grief to see himself stabb'd by the Sword of *Brutus*, to whom he had been remarkably liberal of his Favours, and whom he call'd out upon by the Name of *Son* in his expiring Moments. 'Tis certain, that this last Action of these Assassins cannot be *animadverted upon with too much Severity, what-

* Vide *Plutarch. in Cæsare.*

whatever might have been their Motive. Had *Cæsar* merited a thousand Deaths, yet was it not the Business of a few private Men, to set themselves up for the Executioners of Justice. They were, undoubtedly, very much blinded by Passion *, not to foresee, as Things then stood, that they cou'd scarce have any Room to flatter themselves with the pleasing Hopes of seeing Liberty revive again.

THE *Roman* Power was now too much extended, their Manners were quite chang'd; Luxury and Ambition bore too great a Sway in *Rome*, and were the Springs of too many Disorders. What cou'd so general a Depravation end in, but a total Subversion of the Republick! Besides, Ambition was rated at too high a Price; the Dignity which they were eager to strip from the Conqueror of *Pompey* the Great, was so much envy'd, that any One might have foreseen that no sooner had they dispatch'd one Man, but numberless Competitors wou'd have started up, and have fought for it.

AFTER *Cæsar*'s Death, there was some Probability that the *Romans* wou'd now recover their ancient Liberty, which wou'd certainly have come to pass, if *Cæsar* had not left behind him too many Heirs of his Blood, and of his Ambition. These, under a Pretence of revenging his Death, imploy all their Thoughts to the taking off his Murderers, and ruining their Projects. 'Twas to no Purpose, that such as were Friends to Liberty applaud the Murder of *Cæsar*; in vain they attempt to defend the

Con-

* *Seneca* of Benefits.

Conspirators, and enter into a Confederacy to oppose such great Men as shou'd endeavour to revenge his Death; for these latter got the better. *Brutus* and *Cassius* are oblig'd to consult their Safety by Flight. They endeavour to keep up their Party in the Provinces: They maintain themselves vigorously in *Macedonia* for some time, with a considerable Body of very good Troops; but Fortune at last declares for the other Side; these two illustrious Defenders of Liberty fall in the memorable Battle of *Philippi*, and are reduc'd to the cruel Necessity of laying violent Hands upon themselves. *Brutus* is said to have * reproach'd Virtue in his latest Moments. *Wretched Virtue*, says he, *how have*

* *Brutus* has been censur'd for employing his last Words in Exclamations against Virtue; but *Florus*, Book 4. Ch. 7. gives his Approbation of them. Mr. *Bayle* in his Remarks upon *Brutus* is of the same Opinion: " If we consider, says he, the System *Brutus* had form'd to himself, we shall find that his Invectives were built upon a very good Foundation. He had look'd upon Virtue, Justice, and Equity, as Beings that really existed; that is to say, as Beings, whose Strength was superior to that of Injustice; who in the End plac'd their faithful Followers out of the reach of all the Accidents and Insults of Fortune; whereas he had met with the Reverse of all these Things. He now, a second time, saw the Followers of Justice, the Cause of his dear Country, prostrate at the Feet of a Party of Rebels; he saw *Mark Anthony*, as vile a Wretch as ever breath'd, with Hands yet reeking in the Blood of the most illustrious Citizens of *Rome*, just return'd from the Overthrow of the glorious Assertors of Liberty. He found, therefore, that he was wretchedly abus'd with the Idea he had form'd to himself of Virtue: All he had got in her Service, was the miserable Choice of either throwing himself out of Life, or of

" be-

have I been deluded in thy Service ! I thought thee a real Being ; for which Reason I became thy Follower ; but thou art no more than an empty Name, a mere Shadow, the Prey of Fortune, and her Slave.

BUT the Death of these two great Men did not put a Stop to future Troubles ; *Octavius*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, who between themselves had form'd that fatal Alliance, so well known by the Name of the *Triumvirate*, commit the most unheard of Cruelties in *Rome*. They mutually surrender up to each other their respective Enemies, pursuant to one of their Articles, and fill the City with Murder and Proscriptions.

THE *Triumvirs* were each of them too ambitious, to preserve their Unity for any Time. They soon grow jealous, and endeavour to undermine one another ; but *Octavius* prevails : He now stands single, and not being any longer in Fear of a Competitor, unites the supreme Authority in his own Person. 'Twas then that *Rome* quite lost her precious LIBERTY, which *Cæsar* had almost brought to the last Gasps.

“ becoming the Sport of an Usurper ; at the same time
 “ that *Mark Anthony*, who was one of the most zealous
 “ Followers of Rapine and Injustice, had thereby procur'd to himself a Plenitude of Power, and by that
 “ Means a Capacity of gratifying every irregular Passion.
 “ This it was that made *Brutus* cry out, that Virtue had
 “ no real Existence ; and that 'twas the Business of every
 “ One, who was unwilling to be thought a Bubble, to
 “ consider her as an empty Name, and not as a real
 “ Being.

Octavius,

OCTAVIUS, so well known by the Name of *Augustus*, having employ'd every Violence to make his Way to the Throne, is no sooner seated in it, but he secures it to himself, by the Excellency of his Administration. Let us listen a Moment to *St. Evremont*, who has given us so fine an Idea of the Genius and Government of this Prince. "*Augustus*, says he, " was resolv'd that the Tyranny of the Triumvirate, and the Havock which had been made " by the Civil Wars, shou'd be succeeded by a " virtuous and rational Administration in his " Person; and that a People, who had been subdu'd by Force, shou'd now be govern'd by the " Dictates of Reason; and hating a Violence, " which, 'tis probable, the Necessity of his " Affairs might have oblig'd him to, he finds " out the Art to establish a happy Dependence, that was less ally'd to Slavery, than " their ancient Liberty. He was not one of " those Princes, who make all the Beauty of " Power to consist in the Rigour of implicit " Obedience; who think the only Charms of " Service and Submission to consist in the Necessity their Subjects are under of conforming to them. He, on the contrary, was of " Opinion, that every Prince, who was desirous of having his People at his Disposal, " must first win their Affections, before he attempted to require a Submission; and was so " happy in inculcating the Advantage of his " Injunctions, that they bestow'd less Reflection upon the Obligations they were under

“ of conforming to ’em, than the Advantage
 “ they found by that Submission.

“ ONE of the greatest Cares, which conti-
 “ nually employ’d his Thoughts, was, to make
 “ the *Romans* relish the Sweets of Government,
 “ and insensibly wear out of their Minds all
 “ Reflections on their Dependence. This made
 “ him wave all such Names as might create
 “ a Disgust, and to avoid particularly that of
 “ *Dictator*, so odious in *Sylla*, and even in
 “ *Cæsar* himself. Far from usurping any new
 “ Titles, to give a kind of Sanction to his new
 “ Power, he was willing to conceal it under
 “ the usual Dignities, and such Names as they
 “ were well acquainted with.

“ HE, therefore, from Time to Time, gave
 “ himself the Title of * Emperor, to preserve
 “ the Authority over his Legions. He made
 “ himself be created † *Tribune*, that he might
 “ have the People at his Disposal; and *Prince*
 “ of the *Senate*, the better to secure the Govern-
 “ ment of it to himself: But after he had uni-

* *Augustus* did not take upon himself the Title of Empe-
 ror as himself and the Generals of Armies had often done,
 after the gaining a Victory; but as it had been granted to
Julius Cæsar and his Posterity; that is to say, as a Title
 that was to be perpetual, and as a Mark of the real Au-
 thority he was invested with.

† *Augustus* did not take the Title of *Tribune* of the Peo-
 ple, but procur’d himself a Grant of the Power of those
 Magistrates; and gave this Name to the supreme Autho-
 rity, purely to avoid the hateful Title of *Dictator* or *King*,
 and at the same time, to invest himself with One, which
 might be superior to all the rest. *Suetonius, Tacitus,*
Dion.

“ ted so many different Authorities in his own
 “ Person, he also took upon himself a Variety
 “ of Cares ; and procur’d to himself the Com-
 “ mand over the Army, the People, and the
 “ Senate, when he had once invested himself
 “ with this Power ; but he made no other
 “ Use of it, than to clear up that general Con-
 “ fusion of all Things. He establish’d to the
 “ People all such Laws as had been made in
 “ their Favour ; putting only a Stop to the Can-
 “ vassing that had been so much practis’d in the
 “ Elections of their Magistrates. He restor’d the
 “ Senate to its ancient Splendor, after he had
 “ banish’d the Corruption that prevail’d so
 “ much in that Place ; for he contented him-
 “ self with an Authority, which was so limited,
 “ as not to leave him Latitude enough to do
 “ any Thing to their Prejudicé. Thus did the
 “ People enjoy as much Freedom, tho’ they
 “ had not the same Room to be seditious as
 “ before. The Senate was invested with as ex-
 “ tensive a Power, tho’ it was less unjust than
 “ it had been for some Time. Liberty lost on-
 “ ly those Evils it might occasion, but none of
 “ that Happiness it might naturally produce.

“ AFTER he had settled every Thing in this
 “ excellent Order, he revolv’d a Variety of Re-
 “ flections in his Mind, and for a considerable
 “ Time, held a Consultation with himself,
 “ whether he shou’d continue at the Head of
 “ the Empire, or restore the People to their
 “ former Liberty. The Examples of *Sylla* and
 “ *Cæsar*, tho’ very different, made an equal Im-
 “ pression upon him in Favour of this last Re-

“ flection. He consider’d, that *Sylla*, who had
 “ made a voluntary Resignation of the Dicta-
 “ torship, died peaceably in the midst of his
 “ Enemies; and that *Cæsar*’s holding of it, had
 “ been the Occasion of his being assassinated by
 “ his best Friends, who were so far from blush-
 “ ing, that they gloried in the Action.

“ DURING this Uncertainty of Resolution, he
 “ consults *Mæcenæ*s and *Agrippa* his principal
 “ Friends. *Agrippa*, to whose Valour he ow’d his
 “ Empire, advis’d him to resign it; ’tis uncertain
 “ whether this proceeded from a Principle of
 “ Moderation, or from certain hidden Springs.
 “ As he knew himself to be a greater Warrior
 “ than *Augustus*, he might, probably expect to
 “ be invested with the greatest Dignities in the
 “ Republick, as soon as it shou’d be restor’d.
 “ *Mæcenæ*s, on the other Side, who had the
 “ Interest of his Sovereign no less at Heart than
 “ his own, was of Opinion, that he shou’d hold
 “ the Empire. He assur’d him, that ’twas im-
 “ possible for the State to subsist but under a
 “ Monarch; which he enforc’d with a Multi-
 “ tude of Reasons; that he cou’d not resign his
 “ Authority without endangering his Life; but
 “ that on the contrary, his Person and Power
 “ wou’d be assur’d to him under a wise and
 “ equitable Administration.

BUT *Augustus* follow’d the Opinion of the
 latter, and tho’ he still continu’d the sovereign
 Power in his own Hands, he yet made an
 Offer of Resignation to the Senate, tho’ he re-
 solv’d upon the contrary. But they all unite
 in

in refusing it; some thro' a Principle of Affection; others thro' Fear; and many from a political View. So that he might have affirm'd, that the Senate and People had forc'd him to take the Reins of Government into his Hands. But, to insinuate himself still farther into the Esteem of the great Men, and the Confidence of the People, he immediately declares, that he wou'd not accept of the sovereign Dignity, for a longer Term than five Years; at the Expiration of which he continu'd ten Years longer, and afterwards for twenty. Thus discovering, from Time to Time, some Inclination to restore them to their ancient Liberty, and employing all his Care to settle the Empire on a happy and flourishing Foundation, he maintain'd himself the remainder of his Life in the sovereign Dignity, and left this good Saying of himself behind him, that *It had been better he had never been born, or had never died.*

AUGUSTUS was happy in an exquisite Taste and a most profound Judgment; he had a perfect Notion of Merit, and was ever ready to reward it.

MEN of Sense and Learning made their Fortune at his Court: In their Company he us'd to pass away his unbended Hours, and honour'd them with his Friendship. 'Twas this gave Birth to a noble Emulation, that refin'd their Taste, heighten'd their Wit, and improv'd their Penetration. 'Twas this that threw so great a Lustre on his Age, that it is still, and has ever been look'd upon, as the most illustrious the World ever saw. Clemency was one of

the most shining Virtues of this Monarch, which he discover'd on many Occasions, but was never more conspicuous than in a Conspiracy, which had been form'd against himself, and which was then going to break out. But he, far from punishing the Accomplices, heap'd upon them on the contrary the greatest Benefits, and rais'd them to the highest Dignities. At last, after a long Reign, he dy'd to the great Regret of the whole World. With this Emperor flew away the Felicity of the Empire. During his Reign, his Yoke was so easy, his Administration so happy, that the *Romans* did not so much as perceive their Slavery; but after his Death it triumph'd over them, in its most horrible and dreadful Shapes.

THE greatest Part of the succeeding Emperors reign'd in a quite different Manner, than *Augustus* had done. They abandon'd themselves to every kind of Vice, and the most unheard of Irregularities. So shamefully did they abuse the Authority they had been intrusted with, that their Cruelties were greater than ever *Tarquin* had committed. One wou'd have been apt to conclude, that their sole Delight consisted in improving every kind of Violence and Disorder, in contemning the Laws, in reducing with Impunity the worthiest Men to the most deplorable Circumstances, and in discovering their Power by no other Marks but their Tyranny. Let us descend a little to Particulars, and take a View of such Emperors, whether good or bad, as are chiefly mention'd in the *Roman History*.

THE First that present themselves appear Monsters rather than Men. We will begin with *Tiberius*. *Augustus* had chosen him for his Successor, but 'twas rather owing to the Complaisance he had for *Livia*, than from any Inclination of his own; since no One knew so well as himself the Vices of that Prince. Some have pretended, that it was owing to a politick and ambitious View, that the *Romans* might regret his Death the more.

BE that as it will, when *Tiberius* was fix'd in the Empire, he behav'd himself very different from what his Predecessor had done. I am not ignorant, that he acted a very hypocritical Part in the Beginning of his Reign; and that he took no less Care to conceal his Faults, under the specious Appearance of Gentleness. But they were not long before they discover'd, that he was of a Character quite opposite to what he affected to appear in. Never Prince was a greater Impostor, was more jealous of his Authority, or had a greater Fund of Dissimulation; was more cruel, or more inclin'd to the most extravagant Debauches than himself. The Reader, perhaps, may not be displeas'd with seeing the Picture of this Emperor, as it is drawn by the Hand of *M. de St. Evremont*.

" THE *Roman* Virtue, says that *Author*, was
 " greatly relax'd since the Death of *Brutus* and
 " *Cassius*, who had for some Time kept up
 " the Pomp and Haughtiness of it. After the
 " Death of *Anthony*, the People were almost
 " universally pleas'd with the Conduct of *Augustus*,

" *gustus*, and had the greatest Complaisance for
 " his Person. At the Accession of *Tiberius*,
 " this Complaisance degenerated into the most
 " ignominious Flattery. We may boldly as-
 " firm, that this Prince, who was naturally ir-
 " resolute, wou'd not have grasp'd after so un-
 " bounded an Authority ; but the *Romans*,
 " more eager to obey, than *Tiberius* to com-
 " mand, bow'd down their Necks to his Yoke,
 " at a Time when he had scarce Hopes they
 " wou'd pay the least Submission to his Au-
 " thority. Such was the Genius of the *Romans*
 " under his Reign.

" As for *Tiberius*, his most secret Design, and
 " that which he best carry'd on, was that of
 " changing all the Maxims which *Augustus* had
 " govern'd by. No sooner was the latter seated
 " on the Imperial Throne, but he gave up to
 " the Good of the Publick, all that an equitable
 " and prudent System of Politicks cou'd inspire
 " him to bestow ; but *Tiberius* form'd a kind
 " of *Cabinet-Science*, which comprehended the
 " Interest of the Prince, but after a very false
 " and mysterious Manner, abstracted from the
 " Interest of the State, and generally destructive
 " to the Good of the Publick.

" Good Sense, Capacity, and Fidelity in
 " keeping a Secret, were now chang'd into
 " Craft, Artifice and Dissimulation. Actions,
 " whether good or evil, were now no longer
 " distinguish'd by their own intrinsic Merit ;
 " every Thing was either judg'd according to
 " the delicate Sentiments of the Emperor, or
 " the Subtilty of some pernicious Speculation.

THE

“ THE Credit of *Germanicus*, so serviceable
 “ in quieting the Legions, was of great Ad-
 “ vantage, but did not continue to please for
 “ any Time. When the Storm was blown over,
 “ they began to reflect, that he might possibly
 “ withdraw them from the Allegiance they ow’d
 “ their Emperor, since he had found out the
 “ Secret to bring them back to their Duty.
 “ His Fidelity to *Tiberius* did not do him the
 “ least Service; his Moderation in refusing the
 “ Empire was not sufficient to plead his Inno-
 “ cence; he was judg’d guilty of what had on-
 “ ly been offer’d him; and so many Engines
 “ were employ’d to work his Destruction,
 “ that they at last made away with a Man,
 “ who was willing to obey, but deserv’d to go-
 “ vern.

“ THUS *Germanicus*, the Darling of the Ro-
 “ mans, came to a fatal End in the Midst of
 “ an Army, where he had less to fear from
 “ the Enemies of the Empire, than from an
 “ Emperor, whom he had serv’d so faithfully;
 “ and who (to enhance his Guilt the more)
 “ was his Uncle by the Father’s Side, and his
 “ adopted Father. But he was not the only
 “ Person, that felt the dreadful Effects of his
 “ fatal Policy; the same malignant Spirit dis-
 “ cover’d itself on all Occasions. Employments
 “ in the Provinces were no other than myste-
 “ rious Banishments. The Dignities and Go-
 “ vernments were bestow’d on none, but such,
 “ as were either mark’d out for Destruction, or
 “ to destroy others. In a word, an upright
 “ Behaviour in any Administration was no lon-
 “ ger

“ger a Merit; for to say the Truth, the Ar-
 “mies were commanded by Out-laws, rather
 “than Generals; and the Provinces had Exiles
 “rather than Governors over them: Even now
 “at *Rome*, where the Laws had always been so
 “religiously kept, and with so much Forma-
 “lity, nothing was executed, but by the Influ-
 “ence of that mysterious Cabinet. When any
 “Man of a conspicuous Merit discover’d a pas-
 “sionate Warmth for the Glory of the Em-
 “pire, *Tiberius* immediately suspected he had
 “himself some ambitious Views, that pointed
 “towards the Empire. If any One discover’d
 “an innocent Remembrance of his former Li-
 “berty, he was look’d upon as a dangerous
 “Person, desirous of re-establishing the Com-
 “mon-wealth. To dare so much as to * praise
 “*Brutus* and *Cassius*, was a Crime, that no-
 “thing less than Death cou’d expiate. To
 “regret *Augustus* was a secret Offence, which
 “they were the less inclin’d to pardon, as no
 “One dar’d to complain of it; for *Tiberius*
 “was always very lavish in his Praises of him
 “in Publick, and instituted divine Honours to
 “his Memory; which he himself was the first
 “to pay him; but all the Impulses of Hu-
 “manity were forbid, and the least Shew of
 “Tendernefs for the Memory of the deceased
 “Emperor, was taken for a tacit Accusation

* *Aulus Crematius Cordus* was accus’d for the Eulogies
 he had bestow’d on *Brutus* and *Cassius* in an History of his,
 upon which Sentence of Death was pass’d upon him, and
 executed. He had given the Title of the last *Roman* to
 these Republicans.

“ of the present Government, or for some personal Hatred of the reigning Monarch.

“ THE Crimes, *says my Author*, which had reign’d hitherto, were only such as proceeded from the Inspirations of a Jealousy, arising from a false System of Politicks; but now ’tis nothing less than open Cruelty, and manifest Tyranny.

“ UNSATISFIED with laying aside the most wholesome Maxims, they are now for abolishing the most salutary Laws; which are succeeded by a thousand new Ones, that in outward Appearance seem to be calculated for the Emperor’s Preservation, but are in Reality levell’d at the Destruction of all the surviving Persons of Merit in *Rome*.

“ EVERY Thing is now declar’d High-Treason; in former Times ’twas customary to punish the Authors of a genuine Conspiracy, but now they punish an innocent Expression by the malicious Interpretations they put upon it.

“ THE doleful Complaints with which the Wretched are allow’d to sooth their Misfortunes; Tears, those natural Expressions of our Grief; those Sighs, that silently steal from us; nay, Looks themselves were now of the most fatal Consequence. The Simplicity of Discourse was a Mark that some very ill Design was hatching, a discreet Silence was a Screen for wicked Intentions; they look’d upon Joy as a pleasing Hope, that the Prince’s Death wou’d be hasten’d; they thought Sorrow a manifest Token of
“ their

“ their repining at his Prosperity, or the Continuance of his Life. In the midst of Danger, if the bare Apprehensions of Oppression betray’d something like what we call Fear, it was immediately constru’d the strongest Tokens of a terrified Conscience, which betraying itself, either discover’d something already done, or that was going to be put in Execution. One, who was famous for Courage and Constancy, was consider’d (with Fear) as a bold Fellow, ready for all Attempts. To speak, to be silent; to rejoice, to be sad; to be afraid, or to be resolute; all was criminal, and ended too often in a very cruel Death.

“ THUS were the Suspicions of some People, a manifest Token of the Guilt of others; ’twas not sufficient that Men were expos’d to what every brib’d Accuser cou’d charge them with; to the Misrepresentations of Spies, to Suppositions of Facts that never existed, but in the prolifick Brain of some vile Informer. Besides this, they had every thing to fear from the capricious Imagination of the Emperor; for when a Man imagin’d, that the Innocence, not only of his Actions, but of his Thoughts, would shield him from every Danger, he was hurried on to Destruction by the mere Malice of his Conjectures.

A Pardon, or a Liberty of pleading one’s own Cause, were Indulgences not to be expected from the Senate; this Tribunal, devoted to Flattery, regulated all its Proceedings, and form’d

form'd all its Decrees, as the Passions of the Prince were pleas'd to dictate. Neither cou'd a Man flatter himself with the Hopes of baffling the Informers, *Tiberius* protect'd them openly; he had loaded them with Rewards, and wou'd have them look'd upon as the Protectors of the Law. Thus Death naturally follow'd Impeachments. Such as were desirous of avoiding the Shame of being condemn'd, and of dying by the infamous Hands of the Hangman, did themselves hasten the Period of their Lives, by a sudden and voluntary * Dispatching of themselves. This kind of Death, * so often practis'd under the Reign of *Tiberius*, was a very great Detriment to the Empire, which, by this means, lost a great Multitude of its most innocent, and most worthy Subjects.

WE shall not wonder at these cruel Proceedings, if we consider that *Tiberius's* Love and Affection were confin'd to himself only; that he was ever ready to sacrifice every Thing to

* The principal Cause of their having Recourse to this sad Extreme was, because such as died before Sentence of Death was pass'd upon them, had funeral Honours paid to their Memory; their Testaments were valid, and their Estates devolv'd upon their Children: Whereas on the contrary, such as had been condemn'd, were, after their Execution in Prison, or their being thrown from the *Tarpeian* Rock by the Tribunes of the People, and sometimes by the Consuls, denied Interment; and were expos'd in the *Forum*, dragg'd through the Streets, flung into the *Tyber*, and their Estates confiscated. Neither Age, Quality, or Sex, were exempt from these Punishments.

his Ambition, and that his Friends were full as indifferent to him as Strangers.

WHAT an Insensibility did he discover both before and after the Death of his Son * *Drusus*? *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* assure us, that he did not give the least Token of Affliction during the Sickneſs of this Prince, neither did he absent himſelf from the Senate, even during the Interval of Time between his Death and his Interment. He was the only Perſon, who, at a Time, when the whole Senate were venting

* This Prince was Son to *Tiberius* and *Vipſania*, his firſt Wife, *Agrippa's* Daughter. He died by the Treachery of *Sejanus*. This ambitious Favourite, who aſpir'd to nothing leſs than the Empire, firſt drew up a Scheme to diſpatch *Drusus* out of the way, who, in Quality of *Tiberius's* Son, laid the next Claim to the Succeſſion. And the better to ſucceed in his infamous Project, he endeavour'd to gain over to his Intereſt, *Livia*, Siſter to *Germanicus*, who had married that Prince after the Deceſſe of *Caius Ceſar*, Grandſon to *Auguſtus*, her firſt Huſband. This Princeſs had been very ugly, but was afterwards a very great Beauty. *Sejanus* had ſo bad an Opinion of her Virtue and Goodneſs, as to imagine, that by making a Declaration of Love to her, he ſhould, by that Means, engage her to be an Accomplice, in the Deſign he had form'd to take off her Huſband. He, therefore, ſeigns a very great Paſſion for her, ſhe liſtens to him, and conſents to all his Wiſhes. He afterwards propoſes to marry her, and ſeat her upon the Imperial Throne, provided ſhe wou'd poiſon *Drusus*. Upon this flattering, tho' uncertain Hope, ſhe, by the Commiſſion of a moſt horrid Crime, quitted One that was certain and ſolid: For ſhe, in concert with *Sejanus*, gets her Huſband poiſon'd by the Hand of the Eunuch *Lygdus*. *Tacitus* obſerves upon this Occaſion, that a Woman, who has once prostituted her Honour, freely abandons herſelf to her Gallant, and is ready to commit any Action, which he may afterwards puſh her on to perpetrate.

their

their Sorrows in Groans, and Floods of Tears; he, I say, was the only Person, that did not discover the least Symptoms of Sorrow. Nay, so well did he keep up his borrow'd and hypocritical Spirit in his Discourse, that 'twas plain to all the World, he was not affected with any Sensations of Grief or Discontent.

BUT let us see what is his Treatment of *Agrippina*, Widow to *Germanicus*. This Lady, so illustrious in whatever Light we view her, this prolifick Woman, so venerable for her Chastity! so renowned for her Courage! whose Inspirations had sometimes made her share with her Husband in his military Command? The abandon'd *Tiberius*, not satisfy'd with having banish'd her to one of the most desert Islands in the whole Empire, was over and above so tender of her, as to give Orders that she shou'd be put to Death, with all the Torments that Cruelty cou'd invent; and that his Insults might reach beyond the Grave, he had her Birth-day rank'd among the unhappy Ones, to make her Name the more odious to Posterity. Besides, his Impudence was so great, that he declar'd he had shew'd her no small Favour, in not condemning her to be strangled, or giving Orders that her Body shou'd be thrown to the Dogs.

NERO and *Drusus*, both Sons of this illustrious *Roman*, had not any more Mercy shew'd 'em. They forc'd the first to lay violent Hands on himself: The other was reduc'd to the horrid Extreme of subsisting upon the Flocks of his Bed, and with this Sustenance spun out a wretched

wretched Life, to a longer Term by nine Days, than he cou'd otherwise have done. His Keepers kept a Journal, of all he said, or did, during his Imprisonment; it was drawn up so very exactly, that they mention'd even the Names of those very Slaves, who had either beat, or threaten'd him, whenever he stirr'd out of his Chamber; the Imprecations with which, in his dying Moments, he loaded the Author of all this barbarous Treatment; their refusing of him a Morfel of Bread; the Blows, with which the Slaves knock'd him down, and many other Particularities of the like Nature. He was no sooner dead, but *Tiberius* had the Baseness to accuse him before the Senate; and so flagrantly impudent, that in the Account he then gave them, he took Notice of the rigorous Cruelties wherewith he had tormented this unfortunate Prince. Had not the Senators just Reason to tremble, and be astonish'd at the very Thoughts of an Emperor, who so audaciously threw off the Mask, and so manifestly laid aside his former Dissimulation? In a word, cou'd any thing be a stronger Characteristick of the bloody Nature of *Tiberius*, and the cruel Desire he had to cut off his whole Family, than that Saying, which was so often in his Mouth, * *That he thought Priam happy, in having surviv'd his Children.*

I shall not expatiate upon the secret, infamous Pleasures, and the most unheard of Vices, that were the whole Employment of this Emperor, during the ten last Years of his Life, which he spent

* *Suetonius.*

in the Island of *Caprea*. 'Tis impossible so much as to think of them without Horror, they are scarcely credible, and better it were, to bury them in eternal Oblivion, than to publish them to the World. All I shall take notice of is, that neither his Retirement, nor his Pleasure, cou'd divert his Cruelties. He preserv'd to the last that Credulity, which made him so easily give into all the false Reports that Calumny cou'd raise, which was partly owing to the Artifice of *Sejanus*, who had found out the Art of feeding his Suspicion; and partly to his own savage Nature, which now produc'd Effects much more tragical than it had hitherto done.

BUT, as the greatest Pleasure often draws after it the greatest Pain, and that a Man does not soften the Pangs of his own Uneasiness by the Torments he inflicts on others; *Tiberius* was not always calm and undisturb'd, in the Exercise of his Cruelties and Pleasures. If his Conscience prey'd upon him, and set before him in the most frightful Light, the Horror of his Crimes, and the Infamy of his Dissoluteness; how much more was he alarmed, tormented, and tore to pieces, when he reflected upon the Ambition of *Sejanus*? This Favourite, who had insinuated himself into the good Graces of the Emperor, by the most unjust Methods, now saw himself the second Man in the Empire. His Image was respected in publick Places, in the Theatres, and in the Standards of the Legions: Statues were every where set up to him, all Places echo'd with his Praise; the greatest Men, not excepting the Consuls

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them-

themselves, waited at his Levee very early every Morning, to make their Court to him, and thought themselves doubly blest, if he had taken so much as the least Notice of them ; Affairs were communicated to his Ear, before they came to that of the Emperor : Courtesies were obtain'd thro' his Channels, and nothing was transacted unless stamp'd with his Approbation : 'Twas thro' his Favour only that Dignities were purchased, and nothing less than Crimes cou'd purchase his Favour ; in a Word, he had every thing but the Diadem. " This great Favourite grown weary
 " of those Favours, which did not yet exempt
 " him from Dependence, is resolv'd to free
 " himself from that State, and insensibly employs every Engine, to work himself into
 " his Master's Seat.

" HE had so perfect an Insight into the
 " Maxims of this Emperor, and was arriv'd
 " at so great a Perfection in his Art, that he
 " had already taken off his Children by Poison, and was just upon the Point to dispatch
 " Tiberius himself, when this Prince, who was
 " now by a kind of Miracle restor'd to his Sight,
 " secur'd to himself for some Time longer the
 " Remainder of a wretched Life, by putting to
 " Death this great Confident, who had intended
 " to have murder'd him first. See *Tacitus*.

LET us, now, consider a little this Favourite in his Disgrace ; this Man, who but a Moment before, saw himself in almost as sovereign a Command as the Emperor himself ; this Man, in whose Presence every Knee was bent,
 who

who cou'd not meet with one Man, but what was entirely devoted to his Will and Pleasure; and who was, indeed, almost oppress'd with the Weight of his Greatness: This Man, I say, has no sooner lost the Favour of his Prince, but his exalted Fortune, which he thought was settled on so solid a Foundation, flies away on the same Wings; he falls into the utmost Contempt; he suffers beneath a Load of Invectives and Reproach: The Hatred of all Men follows his Disgrace, as their Friendship had follow'd his unbounded Fortune; and the great Eminence of his Dignity made his Fall the more dreadful. Such as had before been most lavish of Applauses, most extravagant in Praises, and had paid him the same Honours as to a God; these very Men despise him most, and load him with the heaviest Reproaches; these false Friends, these Slaves to Fortune, turn their Backs upon him; they all, to a Man, profess that they never lov'd him; and they labour as zealously at his Destruction, as they had formerly done to win his Favour. He is no longer the Man whose Name was once in every Body's Mouth, whose Character was without Blemish; in whose Person all Virtues center'd, whose Merit was superior to that of the greatest Heroes, and whom they had already made a God: He is now an odious Wretch, detested by all the World, and reproach'd with every Vice and every Crime. He is call'd to account for all the innocent Persons he had put to Death: They insult him with the delusive Hopes he had once, sed them with: They

throw down, break to pieces, and drag about his Statues before his Eyes; and by the Outrages, the Affronts, they put upon his Image, they give him an Idea beforehand of what he is to suffer afterwards in his own Person. In this miserable Condition, he endeavours to hide his Face, to cover his guilty Blushes; but this Consolation is deny'd him; they are desirous of seeing what Countenance he would put on in his unfortunate and dejected State, after the Pride and Haughtiness he had discover'd in his exalted Condition. So great was his Misery, when they hale him away to Prison. He is condemn'd to die the same Day, and the Sentence is executed upon him. They treat him after his Death as a most infamous Wretch, they drag his Body thro' the Streets for three Days successively; they expose it to the Fury of an incens'd Populace, who tear it into so many Pieces, that they do not leave a single Limb for the Executioner to throw into the *Tiber*. Such was the End of this Favourite, who had the Art to raise himself to the supreme Height of Fortune, but was incapable of maintaining himself in it. An Example, worthy the Consideration of those Favourites, whose Ambition is unlimited, and who are incapable of enjoying themselves in their elevated Stations. An illustrious Lesson for all Princes, who raise their Favourites to too great a Height, and who leave all Things blindly to their Management! They do not consider, that these ambitious Men, under the specious Pretext of watching over the Interest of their Master, and that of the State,

State often sacrifice them both to their Ambition.

“ BUT the Ruin and Death of this Favourite was not of any Advantage to *Tiberius*; he liv'd detested by himself and all the World; no less an Enemy to his own Life, than to that of other Men; he, at length, dies, to the no small Joy of all the *Romans*: And his Death was hasten'd by the Impatience of his Successor, who had him stifled in a Sickness, of which he might probably have recover'd”. But who should this Successor be but *Caius Caesar Caligula*, the unworthy Son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*. *Eutropius* tells us, that he was so vile a Wretch, that they regretted his Predecessor. *Seneca* says, that Nature had made choice of him, to shew the World how far she could exert herself in Wickedness; he tells us in another Place, that she had created him to be the Scandal and Destruction of human Nature. We must, however, confess, that his Conduct was truly noble in the Beginning of his Reign; but he soon discover'd to what Lengths he cou'd carry his Folly, his Cruelty, and the Depravity of his Mind. Never Man before him was so flagrantly impious. “ He, * in Imitation of the Devil, whom he copy'd after, was persuaded of the Existence of a God, and trembled at the Thought of it; yet was at the same time continually belching out the most horrible Blasphemies against the Deity. He haugh-

* Vide Bayle Article *Caligula*.

" tily arrogated to himself the Honours due
 " to Religion only ; and there was no Crime
 " he was not proud of committing. At cer-
 " tain times he affected to improve upon *Jupiter*,
 " both in his Thunder and his Lightning. He
 " endeavoured to imitate the Thunder by the
 " Noise of his Machines, and whenever a Bolt
 " fell from the Clouds, wou'd throw up Stones
 " towards Heaven , and cry aloud in ad-
 " dressing himself to the God that hurl'd it,
 " *I'll be thy Destruction if thou dost not root me*
 " *out of the World.* It was his Custom in
 " broad Day, to address himself to the Statue
 " of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, as if he were desirous
 " of entring into Conversation with it ; he
 " wou'd sometimes speak aloud to it, sometimes
 " whisper it in the Ear, and then afterwards
 " put his Ear to the Mouth of *Jupiter*. This
 " Conference never ended without some Dis-
 " pute or other. *Caligula* was one Day over-
 " heard threatning *Jupiter* to send him back
 " again to *Greece*. He made his Boasts, that
 " the God had by his Prayers prevented the
 " Effects of his Menaces, and obtain'd the Fa-
 " vour of being still his Tenant. 'Tis from
 " this Consideration, *says he*, that I have erec-
 " ted a Bridge between my Palace and the
 " Capitol. He us'd frequently to seat himself
 " between the Statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*,
 " and receive the Adorations of all those pre-
 " sent. He had a Temple built to him, where
 " daily Sacrifices, consisting of the most un-
 " common Animals, were offer'd up in his
 " Honour. He bestow'd upon himself the

" Title
 "

“ Title of *Jupiter* at one time ; and gave that
 “ for a Reason, why he had debauch’d so ma-
 “ ny Women, not so much as sparing his own
 “ Sisters. At another Time he call’d himself
 “ *Juno, Diana, Venus, Bacchus*, and cloath’d
 “ himself with the Habits peculiar to those
 “ several Divinities. He founded a Body or
 “ College of Priests in his own Honour. His
 “ Wife *Cesonia*, and his Uncle *Claudius* were
 “ made Members of it : None were admitted
 “ into it, but the most wealthy ; and they
 “ purchas’d their Dignities at a very high
 “ Price : He made himself his own Priest,
 “ and incorporated himself into their Body for
 “ that Purpose. He also made his Horse a
 “ Member of it ”.

’Twas thus he sported with the Gods, and
 abus’d the Obedience which was paid him by
 his Subjects ; but we must own, that it was
 as much owing to the Flattery, which the
 Crowds that surrounded him were eternally
 buzzing in his Ears, as to the * Philter they
 had given him to distract him. They per-
 suaded him, that no Monarch had ever car-
 ried his Glory to so great a Height as he had
 done ; and thus helping him to forget himself,
 they sily insinuated that he was not a Man,
 like to those he reign’d over, but a God.

* The general Opinion is, that *Cesonia* gave him that
 Draught, to make him love her ; which happening to be
 too violent, turn’d his Brain, and was the Cause of that
 Fury, which rag’d afterwards with such excessive Cruelty.
Caesar had lov’d her before their Marriage. *Suetonius*.

CALIGULA was as loose as he was impious; he even carried his Irregularities to such a Height, that he did not make the least Scruple to give into that horrid kind of Love, which is so contrary to the Laws both of God and Nature. The Depravity of this Prince discover'd itself betimes, for he was catch'd committing Incest with one of his Sisters; before he had yet put on the † manly Gown, he debauch'd them all, but *Drusilla*, particularly, was his Favourite; he liv'd openly with her, as if she had been his lawful Wife, and after her Death, he gave into the most impious, the most extravagant Follies to honour her Memory. Her Funeral was celebrated with the greatest Magnificence: He caus'd Decrees to be made in her Honour, equal to those that had been made to *Livia*, Wife of *Augustus*. Besides, he order'd a Decree to be publish'd, by which she was declar'd to be enroll'd among the Gods. *Drusilla's* Statue of Gold was set up in the Senate; other Statues were set up to her Honour in the *Forum*, in Imitation of that of *Venus*, and had the same Honours paid to it as to that Goddess. She had a Temple dedicated to her; Edicts were publish'd commanding both Sexes to dedicate Statues to her; Women were order'd to swear in her Name on all Occasions, where an Oath was necessary; and that her Birth-day shou'd be celebrated with Games, like to those that were sacred to *Cybele*. She had the Name of *Panthea*, that is to say, *All Divine*, bestow'd upon her, and divine Honours were paid her

† *Toga virilis.*

her in every City. *Livius Geminus*, a Roman Senator, was so mean-spirited, as to swear in a full Senate, and, at the same time, to wish the most horrible things might befall himself and his Children, if he had not seen her ascend up into Heaven, and converse with the Gods; and call'd *Drusilla* to witness, among other Divinities, to the Truth of what he asserted. He receiv'd a round Sum of Money for his Flattery.

THE Romans had never been so much puzzled before, as they were upon this Occasion; they did not know what kind of Behaviour to put on; for if they discover'd a dejected Air, they were accus'd of Ignorance of her Divinity; if Pleasure smil'd in their Countenances, they were accus'd of not regretting her Death. So that *Caligula* was sure to ensnare them either ways, by making an Advantage of the human Nature of his Sister against such as wept; and of her divine Nature against such as were sad. During all the Time of the publick Mourning, which by his Command was observ'd in her Honour, 'twas a Crime to laugh, to go into the Bath, or to eat at Home. A poor Fellow was put to Death for selling hot Water, which was look'd upon as a very profane Action. In a word, after the Death of that Princess, *Caligula*, whether in the Senate, or in the Army, never swore by any Divinity but that of *Drusilla*; and that too in Matters of the highest Consequence.

I shall not trouble my Readers with all the extravagant Follies of this Prince, such as the Honours which by his Command were paid his

his Horse *Incitatus* whom he made Consul, or the Bridge, which he built over the Sea from * *Baia* to *Puzzola*, as a Proof that he had as great an Authority over that Element, as over the Earth: His Passion for the *Moon*, in which he was so ridiculous, as to desire her, when she was in her Full, to interrupt her Course, and descend to his Embraces; or the imaginary Victories, for which he commanded himself to be congratulated, and a thousand other Actions, that were full as ridiculous. Neither shall I enlarge upon his innumerable Cruelties; he has himself taken Care to give us an Idea of his sanguinary Temper, by the Wish he one Day made, *O! that all the People of Rome had but one Head; then might I, says he, have the Pleasure of cutting them off at one Blow.* I shall wave all Circumstances of this Nature, to make some Reflections upon that servile Spirit, that shameful Adulation, which at that Time was so prevalent with this People.

I believe, we may venture to affirm, that these degenerate *Romans* were as guilty, and, if I may be allow'd the Expression, as stupidly foolish as their Prince, since they applauded his Follies, rais'd the Merit of his Actions to the Skies; were profusely lavish of their Praises and Wishes; were us'd to swear by his Fortune, and more eager to serve and adore him, than

* This Bridge was a League and a quarter in length. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Caius* commanded it to be erected from *Baia* to *Puzzola*, both Cities of *Campania*, separated from each other by an Arm of the Sea; which is about 30 Furlongs over.

he was to exact their Obedience or Worship. Those old *Romans*, so jealous of their Liberty, so incapable of bowing their Necks to any Yoke, were now no more: They were chang'd into a People harden'd to the Shackle, that gave themselves up a Prey to Tyranny; and by their submissive Homage to the Will of the Tyrant, seem'd to discover that they were pleas'd with their Slavery.

VITELLIUS, Governor of *Syria*, is a famous Proof of that degenerate Spirit I have just now mention'd. He had gain'd no small Reputation in his Government, when such as envy'd his Greatness, began to insinuate into *Caligula* a Suspicion of his Conduct; upon which he is commanded to come forthwith to *Rome*, in Order to justify himself. *Vitellius*, tho' Notice had been given him by his Friends, that they were resolv'd upon his Death, makes no Scruple to obey the Summons. He comes to *Rome* in a mourning Habit, begs to have an Audience, which is granted him. He appears before *Caligula* with the same Ceremonies, which the *Romans* made use of in the Presence of their Gods; that is, with his Head cover'd, making several Turns about him, and throwing himself at his Feet. In this Posture he weeps immoderately, adores him, calls him his God, and promises to offer up Sacrifices in his Honour, cou'd he but obtain his Pardon. *Caligula* is prevail'd upon by this servile Behaviour, he now feels a friendly Compassion for a Man, who, but a Moment before, was so very odious to him; but not satisfy'd with granting him his

his Pardon, he takes him into the Number of his Bosom Friends. Behold here a *Roman* ! one of the greatest Men in the Empire, chusing rather to sacrifice his Reputation, and make his Name odious to Posterity, in the Character of a vile Flatterer, than to lose a Life he was so very fond of.

DION has taken Notice of a very witty, but wicked Repartee, which this Governor made to a very impertinent Question of *Caligula*. *Is it not true*, says the Emperor to him one Day, *that you have seen the Moon make love to me?* *Vitellius*, puzzl'd at this Demand, answer'd him, that *It was lawful for none but himself and his Brother Gods, to discourse of such exalted Mysteries*. This monstrous, this cringing Submission was authoris'd by so great an Example as the Senate. This Body of Men, once so illustrious, so laudable for Justice and Equity ; whose Zeal was so warm for the publick Good, whose Abhorrence for Tyranny and Usurpation was so conspicuous ; this very Body, I say, was now entirely devoted to the most extravagant Passions of its Prince ; these Fathers of the Republick discover'd the greatest Warmth in flattering his Pride, and soothing his Vanity. The only Emulation at this Time was, who should discover the greatest Adulation. To such extravagant Lengths did they carry it, as to lodge *Caligula's* Chair of State in the Capitol, which they afterwards ador'd, and religiously offer'd up to it some Pieces of Money. They had even the Folly to dignify him with the Title of *Gracious*.

BUT

BUT all this serv'd to no other Purpose, than to inflame his Vanity, his Wickedness, his Cruelty, and extravagant Folly. For *Pompeius Pennus*, a Senator of a very advanc'd Age, and who had been rais'd to the highest Dignities, coming to wait upon him to return him his hearty Thanks in giving him his Life, if not taking it away may be call'd a bestowing, thrust out his left Foot for him to kiss. This Prince, born to humble the *Roman Pride*, or as *Seneca* says, *to change the Manners of a Free City into a Persian Captivity*, not thinking it Condescension enough, to see a Man of this Quality prostrate at his Feet, in the Presence of the most illustrious Personages, was resolv'd to invent Ways still more scandalous, to insult the publick Liberty, and trample upon the Republick.

HAVING a Daughter born to him, he gives Orders that her Statue shou'd be lodg'd in the Capitol, sitting in the Lap of that of *Jupiter*, as if she was as much related to that God as to himself; nay, he had the Insolence to say, that he left the World to judge, which of the two Fathers was the greatest.

AN illustrious *Roman Knight* coming to him to sue for his Son's Pardon, whom he had thrown into Prison, because he had dress'd himself too pompously; he, instead of granting it, orders him immediately to be executed. But his Cruelty did not end here, he was resolv'd to commit a farther Insult upon the Grief of the unhappy Father, by inviting him to Dinner the very same Day; which the Gentleman was forc'd to accept thro' the Fear he was under,

der, that in case of a Refusal, his other Son wou'd undergo the same Fate. He, therefore, appear'd in the Emperor's Presence, with as calm and undisturb'd an Air, as if not even the least Affliction sat upon his Spirits. *Caligula*, who had set a Spy over him, to observe his most indifferent Actions, commanded the Waiters to load him with Bumpers of Wine, Perfumes and Crowns. This Knight, tho' a *Roman*, was forc'd to suffer all these inhuman Indignities, and to put on an affected Joy, to preserve the Life of his other Son, notwithstanding his great Age, and the Violence of his Grief.

CALIGULA had the Boldness to permit Slaves to inform against their Masters ; let the Occasion be what it wou'd. What made these Accusations the more dangerous was, the Sanction he gave to them, and the Pleasure which he was well known to take in all such Prosecutions. *Pollux*, one of *Claudius's* Slaves, is to be rank'd in this Number. He had the audacious Insolence to turn Evidence against his own Master ; and this barbarous Emperor did himself sit upon the Bench, in Quality of one of the Judges, at the Tryal of his Uncle *Claudius* ; flattering himself with the Hopes of getting, by that Means, Sentence of Death to pass upon him ; but he was disappointed in his Aim.

BUT he at last left the World, after the *Roman* Empire had groan'd near four Years under his insupportable Tyranny. His Irregularities and Cruelties were not so much the Oc-

casion

casion of the Conspiracy, which was form'd against him, which brought him to a miserable End, as his pointed Raillery.

THE Forming and Execution of that Plot is particularly ascrib'd to *Cassius Chærea*, who had a Post in his Guards. 'Twas he that first gave the Hint, had the Boldness to inspire others with it, that laid down the Methods how it shou'd be executed; that encourag'd them, when he saw them terrify'd at the Greatness of the Danger; and the Moment an Opportunity presented itself, 'twas he who first attack'd the Tyrant; that gave him the first Blow, and did not leave any Thing but the finishing Stroke to be done by his Accomplices. We are told, that the Rage of some of them was so great, as even to devour his mangled Flesh.

THE Conspirators, after this bold Action, consider'd they had all to fear from the Fury of the Populace, who wou'd certainly set themselves to revenge the Murder of an Emperor they were us'd to idolize; and whose standing Forces were so numerous. They, therefore, force their Way through the Croud, and retire to the House of *Germanicus*, which they did not leave, till certain and repeated Assurances had been given them of the Declaration of the Senate in their Favour. And, indeed, one of the Consuls, *Saturninus* by Name, after he had made a long Speech upon the Evils that spring from Tyranny, and the glorious Advantages that arise from Liberty, was of Opinion, that the Result of their first D^eliberat

liberations shou'd be, the granting the principal Honours to all the Conspirators, and particularly to *Chærea*, since the Restoration of their Liberty was owing to his Bravery ; and that he had this Advantage over *Brutus* and *Cassius*, in rescuing the Empire from the innumerable Evils it had been oppress'd with, by the Death of one Man ; whereas their Action had been attended with a War, which had thrown the Empire into the utmost Confusion.

CHÆREA went to the Consuls, and ask'd them what the Word shou'd be ; they answer'd him *LIBERTY*. He next went with it to the Officers of the four * *Cohorts*, who preferring a Power limited by the Laws, to the Oppressions of Tyranny and Usurpation, had declar'd on the same Side as the Senate had done ; when judiciously considering that they would be under continual Apprehensions, so long as any of *Caligula's* Family were in being, he sends one *Lupus*, a Tribune, and a Conspirator, with Orders to kill *Caligula's* Wife *Cesonia*, with her Daughter. But this illustrious Defender of Liberty did not long reap the Fruits of his glorious Action ; for the *Pretorian Cohorts* having saluted Emperor in their Camp, *Claudius*, Uncle to *Caligula*, the Senate, after a brave Struggle, were forc'd to ratify the Election. This Prince, not remembering that he ow'd the Empire to *Caligula's* Death, and desirous to consult his own Safety, gave Orders that *Cassius* shou'd be put to Death :

* *Cohorts* answer to our Regiments of Foot.

This brave Man, true to the last, did not give the Lye to the least of his heroick Actions; but dy'd as he had liv'd, and illustrated his Death by a Constancy, worthy of so great a Name.

THE only remarkable Circumstances in *Claudius's* Reign, were his profound Stupidity, and the audacious Insolence of *Messalina*, who govern'd him at Pleasure. The State labour'd under a thousand Vexations from their united Capricio's and Irregularities; however the easy and tractable Spirit, which, at that time, prevail'd so much among the *Romans*, prevented their making any Disturbance; and how bad soever the Government might then be in itself, yet such was the Gentleness of it, when compar'd to the destructive Reign of *Caligula*, that they soon forgot the Horrors of the former.

WE now come to that of *Nero*: 'Tis well known, that this Prince ow'd the Empire to the Care of *Agrippina* his Mother; that this Princess, whose Cruelty equall'd her Haughtiness and Ambition, was by them spurr'd on to the Perpetration of the blackest Crimes, such as the murdering her Husband *Claudius*, whose Wife and Niece she was, to make way for *Nero*. Historians also tell us, that an Astrologer having foretold her, that her Son wou'd one Day reign, but that he wou'd put her to Death, she answer'd, *Be it so, provided he does but reign*. *Nero's* Behaviour in the Beginning of his Reign was so excellent and regular, that the *Romans* conceiv'd the highest Hopes of the succeeding Part of it; all his Discourses, all his Actions seem'd to promise a finish'd Monarch; he was

the Darling of the City of *Rome*, so that it had almost persuaded itself, that the happy Age of *Augustus* was return'd again.

THE first Speech that *Nero* made to the Senate, after his Accession to the Throne, is as follows, " I solemnly declare, that as I have
" been invested with the imperial Dignity, by
" the Authority of this illustrious Body, and
" the Consent of the Army ; I have taken a
" Resolution to reign in such a Manner, as
" shall be to the Satisfaction of all my Subjects. In my Accession to this great Dignity,
" you do not behold in me a Youth, stain'd
" with the Horrors of a Civil War, or corrupted with domestick Disorders ; I come here
" free from all the Breathings of Hatred and
" Revenge. I am resolv'd industriously to avoid
" all Things that were odious in my Predecessors, and will not allow that Criminals be
" any longer try'd in the Prince's Palace,
" where the Credit and Interest of two or
" three Favourites do but too often oppress the
" Innocent. 'Tis from these Considerations,
" therefore, that I decree that the Senate resume its ancient Authority ; that the Consuls
" administer Justice in *Italy*, and the other Provinces within their Jurisdiction, that the said
" Consuls shall admit them into the Senate,
" there to sollicite their own Causes ; and as
" for myself I am resolv'd to command the
" Armies, and to form myself after the Model
" of *Augustus*.

" IT was impossible to lay down a Plan, that
" had more Wisdom or Justice in it. Influ-

" enc'd

“enc’d by the salutary Doctrine and Instructions of *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; he, for some Time, endeavour’d to make good all his Promises”. The *Romans* cou’d not tell where to fix their Admiration, whether at his Piety, his Modesty, his Clemency, or his Liberality. But when the Senate began to praise him to the Skies, and to thank him for the Rectitude of his Administration; he told ’em, that he had not yet done any thing to the Advantage of the Empire, and that he was unworthy of their Acknowledgments. Being one Day press’d to sign a dead Warrant, he cry’d out, after having refus’d several times to do it, *Wou’d to God I cou’d not write.* See *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*.

WHAT might not naturally be expected from this happy Disposition? But alas! they soon perceiv’d, that he had only acted in a Vizor. Grown weary with the least Subordination, he had as yet scarcely set himself at the Head of Affairs, but he began to follow the Bent of his vicious Inclinations, and the destructive Counsels of the young Debauchees that were about him; among whom was *Otho*, who was, indeed, one of the foremost in that Rank; who yet was Emperor afterwards. These Flatterers were eternally telling him, that it was necessary he shou’d withdraw himself from the importunate Admonitions of *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; that ’twas fitting he should remember that he was their Sovereign, and they his Subjects; that instead of standing in Awe of those Censors, who were ever ready to contradict him, he should make ’em tremble at his Presence;

that otherwise the World wou'd always conclude, he was incapable of reigning alone, and that he wou'd be consider'd no otherwise, than as a Titular Emperor. *Nero*, more susceptible to these Impressions, which squar'd so much with his Nature, than to those of Virtue or Goodness, began immediately to discover the greatest Contempt for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*. He afterwards made it a Punctilio of Honour, not to submit either to the Wisdom of his Ministers, or the Authority of his Mother. In a word, he, at last, threw off the Mask; he publicly derided all their Remonstrances, and took *Caligula* for his Model, but rival'd him, the Moment he had resolv'd to copy after him. He had work'd himself up to a Belief, that it was inconsistent with the Authority and Grandeur of a Prince, to be under the least Subordination to any Person, ev'n in Things that were most scandalous and criminal.

'Twas by these Degrees, that he plung'd himself insensibly into that Abyss of Crimes, that horrible Condition, of which the bare Mention of his Name gives us an Idea; for from being the Desire, the Delight of *Rome*, he grew afterwards to be its Curse.

WE may judge of his Cruelty, by the unheard of Lengths to which he carry'd it. Not to mention an almost infinite Number of illustrious Persons, who fell a Sacrifice to his Fury, he put to Death *Britannicus*, his adopted Brother, *Agrippina* his Mother, his Aunt *Domitia*, his Wives *Oclavia* and *Poppea*, *Burrhus* his Governor, and his Master *Seneca*.

HEARING one Day a greek Verse repeated, the Sense of which was, *May my Death be accompanied with the general Conflagration of the whole World.* He cry'd aloud, *Grant ye Gods, that I may rather see it in my Life-time.* Was it possible for a Prince, who had nothing human about him but his Shape, to give more flagrant Marks of his inveterate Hatred and Contempt of all Mankind? Indeed, he gave but too cruel a Token of it, by his setting Fire to his Capital; he gave Orders to set Fire to every Corner of *Rome*, which burning with the utmost Violence for six Days successively, and for six or seven Nights, consum'd three of the fourteen Regions, or Quarters, into which the City was divided; nay, there were seven of them which had only a few Houses remaining. The most noble Monuments of Antiquity, and the greatest Curiosities in *Rome* were reduc'd to Ashes, together with the Temple of *Vesta*, and the Household-Gods.

WE are not to imagine, that *Nero* was affected with this horrid Sight. 'Twas to him no more than a Diversion. At the same time that the Flames are raging in all Parts of *Rome*, and that its Inhabitants are overwhelm'd with Grief and Desolation, this cruel Emperor, dress'd in the Habit of a Comedian is viewing this melancholy Spectacle from the Top of *Mæcenæ's* Tower. All in Rapture at the Beauty of the Flame, he sings the Destruction of *Troy*. He had been always charm'd at that Catastrophe, and was heard to say more than once, that *Priam was the most happy Prince that ever reign'd,*

in seeing his Capital burnt to the Ground, before he lost his Kingdom.

SOME Historians assure us as an undoubted Fact, that the Motive for his setting Fire to *Rome* was, that he might have the Honour of rebuilding, and embellishing it. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, that *Nero* was always afraid to own the Author of it, but threw the Fault upon the Christians. Christianity was now breaking out of its first Obscurity, and began to make a very great Progress, and particularly at *Rome*; where great Numbers of Converts were daily made by the Preaching and Miracles of *St. Peter*. The Fame of this new Religion came to the Ears of the Emperor: He knew that an infinite Number of People, not only at *Rome*, but elsewhere, abandon'd the Worship of Idols, and condemn'd their old Superstitions. But they were odious to this cruel Tyrant, which made him resolve to destroy all the Christians.

HERE follows the Testimony of *Tacitus*, who, with *Suetonius*, look'd upon the Christian Religion, as a new Compound of Superstition and Magick: "*Nero*, says he, laid the Fault
" of the burning of *Rome* upon the People
" call'd Christians, and put 'em to Death with
" the most exquisite Torments, which he effected the more easily, as they were abhorr'd
" by all the World, from their suppos'd Guilt,
" and criminal Conduct. They borrow that
" Name, continues the same Historian, from one
" Christ, whom *Pontius Pilate*, Lieutenant of
" *Judea*, had put to Death under the Reign
" of *Tiberius*, and this pernicious Superstition,
" which

“ which had been suppress’d for a Time, did
 “ then raise up its Head, not only in *Ju-*
 “ *dea*, from whence this Evil first came,
 “ but even in *Rome* itself, which is an *Afy-*
 “ *lum* for the criminal and infamous Part of
 “ Mankind, that daily croud in it from all
 “ Parts, and who do not fail of finding both
 “ Followers and Protection in it. They first
 “ seiz’d all those who made a publick Profes-
 “ sion of their Religion, and by their Means
 “ discover’d great Numbers of their Brethren,
 “ who were condemn’d as Victims to the Anti-
 “ pathy of Mankind, rather than as Criminals,
 “ who were guilty of setting *Rome* on Fire.

NOR in their Deaths were they exempt from
 the Insults of the Populace; on the contrary,
 they now administer’d to their Recreations.
 They cover’d some with the Skins of wild
 Beasts, and afterwards had them torn to pieces
 by Dogs; others were fasten’d to a Cross, and
 they set Fire to many of them in the Night
 Time, who, by that Means, serv’d instead of
 Torches and publick Lights.

NERO was of too bloody a Nature, not
 to feed his Eyes with these horrid Sight. His
 Gardens were the Scene of these barbarous
 Punishments. They represented at the same
 Time the Games of the *Circus*, where he him-
 self appear’d in the Habit of a Coachman;
 sometimes mixing himself with the Populace,
 and was seen at other Times in one of the
 Race-Chariots. These Things open’d the Eyes
 of the greatest Part of the *Romans*, who, tho’
 they mortally hated the Sufferers, yet did this

not prevent their seeing the Clearness of their Innocence, and that their Death was a particular Pleasure, which this wicked Wretch had a Mind to indulge himself in, rather than the Punishment of any Crime they had been guilty of. Thus was *Nero* the first Emperor that ever shed that precious Blood, which was afterwards so fruitful in Martyrs.

LET us now consider what were his Occupations; singing, dancing, playing on Instruments, acting in the Theatres, driving the Chariot, were his usual Exercises.

WHAT a Sight for *Rome*, to see its Emperor making his Appearance upon the Stage in a Player's Habit, nay, even to contend with the Actors themselves for Perfection in Musick! What must be one's Thoughts, in seeing this Sovereign of the World forget himself so far, as to act the Part of a Slave loaded with Chains; of a * blind Man led by the Hand; of a † Woman in Labour; of a || Son, that had murder'd his Mother; of a ** Madman in the Transports of his Rage and Fury? Was it not a pretty Sight, to see him whole Days together singing with a weak and broken Voice, in his Gardens, to divert the People, and afterwards, Begger-like, to supplicate their Applause? But *Rome* was not the only Witness of this mean Conduct, for he committed as many Extravagancies in the Cities of *Greece* as he pass'd through them.

BUT he did not only degrade his Dignity by these vile Pursuits, and was not willing to stop

* *Oedipus*. † *Canace*. || *Orestes*. ** *Hercules*.

stop here. Not contented with abandoning himself to the most infamous and extravagant Debauchery; he was yet resolv'd to have the Pleasure to illustrate, as it were, his monstrous Pleasures, at the Expence of Nature and Modesty. While he was in Greece, he castrated one of his manumised Slaves, and endeavour'd to make him change his Sex: He afterwards married him; when the Jointure was settled, and the nuptial Veil was brought, with all the other Ceremonies peculiar to Marriage! when putting him in a Litter in an imperial Habit, he accompany'd him to the Assemblies and publick Markets of Greece, and even to the * *Sigillaria* in Rome. He wou'd sometimes embrace him, and seem'd to congratulate himself upon his new Marriage. This abominable unheard of Conduct drew upon him the sharpest Invectives. Somebody had the Boldness to say, *That it wou'd have been happy for the World, if Ænobarbus Nero's Father had married such a Wife.*

BUT this was not enough for *Nero*, he was resolv'd to have a Husband in his Turn. He, therefore, dresses himself in Woman's Apparel, and married *Doriphera*, another manumis'd Slave with great Pomp and Ceremony.

MAY we not conclude, that this Prince de-
serv'd to govern the whole World? yet we can-
not but own that he merited Pity, since the
groveling and scandalous Spirit of the *Romans*
was yet greater in Proportion than either his
Crimes or his Irregularities. At a Time that
he is following the Inspirations of his evil Ge-
nius, that he is abandoning himself to the Im-

* The Street where they fold Toys.

pulses of his most corrupt, most savage Nature; that 'tis his Diversion to swim in Blood; that he is vilifying the Majesty of the Empire by the most base, most groveling Actions; that 'tis his Glory to perpetrate the most shocking Crimes: In a word, at a Time, when he is sporting with Gods and Men, he is so unhappy as not to meet with any One, that has the Generosity to censure his Conduct, and to open his Eyes for him, and to set before him the horrid Deformity of his Vices. He is surrounded by none, but a Sett of base Wretches, whose whole Study is to blind him, and persuade him that he is of a Nature, vastly superior to the rest of Mankind; to sooth his Passions; to applaud his Crimes and his Debauches; and in a word, to search out every Thing that may feed his corrupt, his barbarous Temper; even the Senate itself, that illustrious Body, which ought to have been a Pattern for the rest of the World, is eagerly lavish of the highest Praises, and by their Decrees bestow upon him the most splendid Honours, the more he endeavours to render himself unworthy of them.

ONE wou'd naturally have imagin'd, that this Parricide wou'd have exasperated them all against him, but it happen'd quite otherwise: The *Romans* had been accusom'd to the most groveling Slavery, and devoted to the most scandalous Flattery. *Burrhus*, with all his Probity, was the first that congratulated his Escape from the Snares of his Mother. The Senate and all the *Romans* soon follow his Example. This

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horrible:

horrible Catastrophe was look'd upon as a Favour from Heaven. The whole City is employ'd in sacrificing to the Gods by way of Thanksgiving ; publick Prayers are appointed, new Feasts are instituted, they rank *Agrippina's* Birth-day among the unhappy ones; two Statues of Gold are consecrated in the Senate, one to *Minerva*, the other to *Nero*; in a word, they strive to outvye each other in their Demonstrations of Joy and Approbation. *Nero* only rebels against himself, his Conscience is hurried about with a thousand Torments, it presents the Horrors of his Crimes glaringly in his Imagination, it is every Moment bringing his mangl'd Mother to his View; the Places he has sullied with his Parricide, are become intolerable to him ; he fancies he has a thousand Furies at his Heels; he imagines *Agrippina's* Ghost is hovering about her Tomb, that she implores the Vengeance of Gods and Men by her Cries, her Howlings, and the Sound of Trumpets.

HE, therefore, withdraws himself to *Naples*, but the same panick Fear pursues him to that Place; he wou'd fain return to *Rome*, but he is afraid. He looks upon himself as a Monster worthy of the publick Hate, he fancies they have already pass'd Sentence upon him, which he is perswaded will end in Assassination. His Flatterers use all their Art to cure him of his Fears; they tell him he may return to *Rome*, with the utmost Safety to his Person; that his Mother's Murder will have heighten'd the Affections of the People towards him. *Nero*, indeed, returns to
Rome

Rome in a kind of Triumph. The Senate and People are loud in their Acclamations, their Praises, and their Congratulations; he is astonish'd at the Depravity of his Subjects, who receive him with the most lively Transports of Joy; and applaud his Inhumanity, at the same Time that his own Conscience flies in his Face, and loads him with the most cutting Reproaches, and will not leave him the Enjoyment of a Moment's Tranquillity.

DID not he at his Return from *Greece*, where he had been so exclaim'd against for his base and unheard of Licentiousness, make the most triumphant Entry that had been ever seen, into *Naples*, *Antium*, *Alba*, and particularly into *Rome* itself? Flowers were profusely scatter'd in all Parts of the City; Crowns, Torches, Perfumes were seen without Number, and all this to demonstrate their Joy for his Return. Nothing was heard but Applauses, Acclamations putt up with Flattery, Clapping of the Hands; Huzza's to *Nero-Apollo*, to *Nero-Hercules*, to the wonderful Conqueror!

BUT all this serv'd to no other Purpose, than to add Fuel to *Nero's* Cruelty, and Licentiousness. He foolishly imagin'd, that it was lawful for him to perpetrate the most horrid Crimes, and pollute himself with the most odious Vices; and that after he had been so much applauded for so black a Sin as Parricide, it wou'd be impossible for him to commit the most cruel, the most abominable Actions, without meeting with Applause; so that not satisfy'd with the bloody Sacrifice he had made

of

of numberless Multitudes of innocent Persons, he was resolv'd to taste all the Sweets, if they can be call'd by that Name, which are to be met with in the most infamous Pleasures. The Emulation now was, who should every Day invent new Scenes of Voluptuousness, and furnish him with the greatest Materials for his Debauches to make Life more delicious, and to steal him from his Reason and himself. We may judge of this Assertion, by taking a short View of the proud and extravagant Feast, which *Tigellinus*, that vile and infamous Favorite, as cruel and as corrupt as his Master, had prepar'd for him. " * One wou'd have thought " that the Pomp of Luxury and Delicacy had " made its last Effort ; and that it was impos- " sible for Sensuality to arrive at a higher " Pitch. *Agrippa's* Canal was appointed for " the Scene of this extraordinary Entertain- " ment. The Feast was prepar'd on a mag- " nificent Ship, which being tow'd by others, " came forward with a slow and almost in- " sensible Motion. All these Vessels seem'd to " blazon with Gold and Ivory ; they were row'd " by a Company of beautiful Youths, or ra- " ther *Cupids*. The Ocean had paid her Tri- " bute of Fish to this Entertainment, and the " several Provinces of the Empire, a surpri- " zing Variety of Flesh and Fowl. In a word, " the Profusion was equal to the Delicacy of " it. I shall not mention the scandalous Hou- " ses built on the Sides of the Canal, which " were fill'd with *Roman* Women of the greatest " Qua-

* Vide *St. Evremont's* Miscellanies.

" Quality. Neither shall I mention the Crowd
 " of Curtezans, that were seen with all their al-
 " luring Enticements. Even the Night itself
 " administred to the Pleasures of this riotous
 " Debauch: A numberless Multitude of Lights
 " struggl'd with the Gloom and Darknes of it,
 " and its agreeable Silence was troubled and in-
 " terrupted by the Harmony of a thousand
 " Concerts.

BUT all these Pleasures were incapable to
 sooth the Torments that reign'd in *Nero's*
 Breast: He was eternally tormented with the
 remembrance of his Crimes, and the Pangs of
 his Conscience. His Heart was continually
 toss'd about with new Desires. His greatest
 Remedy was the keeping himself in a perpet-
 ual Drunkenness; for he dreaded nothing so
 much as an Interval of Reason.

BUT at length the World began to grow
 weary of this Monster's Tyranny, which it
 had groan'd under for near fourteen Years. The
 Army in *Gaul* under *Vindex*, and that in *Spain*
 under *Galba*, rebel against him; they cou'd no
 longer bear with so scandalous, so bloody a Go-
 vernment. *Nero* was thunder-struck at this
 News, for he foresaw that the Consequences of
 it wou'd be fatal to him; he now appears as
 groveling as he had before been proud and
 haughty; his Head seem'd to turn round thro'
 Fear, lest the Reins of despotic Government
 shou'd fall from his Hands. He makes a thousand
 Resolutions, but is unable to execute one of 'em.
 This Moment he is going to poison himself,
 the next he is for running to *Galba*, to sue for
 Mercy

Mercy upon his Knees, and to melt the Hearts of his Soldiers with his Tears: At another time, he is ready to ascend the *Rostrum*, in a mourning Habit, to excite the People to Compassion, and to ask Pardon for all his past Offences. But as *Rome* had sided with the Rebels, he found himself naked and abandon'd. He hunted after his Guards, but not one of 'em were to be found. When finding himself oblig'd to fly, hardly wou'd a small Number of his manumis'd Slaves condescend to accompany him in his Distress. He beseeches 'em to dispatch him, but no One will do him this last kind Office; *Alas!* says he, *have I neither Friend, nor Enemy.* In this height of Despair he runs towards the *Tyber*, with a Design to plunge into it; but the Moment he is got to the Shore, he flies back again. He now gets on Horse-back bare-footed, and in his Shirt, with only an old tatter'd Cloak about his Shoulders, and a Handkerchief ty'd round his Head, and in this miserable Equipage, attended only by *Sporus* and three Others, he rides to the House of *Phaon*, one of his Freed-men. After he had rode some Miles, he is forc'd to alight from his Horse, to walk upon Thorns and Briars, and to quench his raging Thirst with Puddle-water. Wearied, oppress'd, and devour'd with Hunger and Thirst, and in the most deplorable Condition that can possibly be imagin'd; he at last comes to *Phaon's* House, which afforded no other Sustenance than some Pieces of very coarse Bread, and a little warm Water. Those that were about him advise him to dispatch himself, to prevent the im-

pending

pending Evils and Insults: He pretends to approve their Counsel; measures the Length of his Body, and gives Orders for the Manner of his Interment. Every Word he utters is followed with a Flood of Tears, but he particularly breaks out into this Exclamation, *Alas! what a terrible Thing it is that so skilful a Musician should dye.* When he saw himself just going to fall into the Hands of the Senate, who were now making a strict Search to find him out, with a Resolution to make him suffer the most cruel and ignominious Death that cou'd possibly be invented, he snatches up two Daggers he had brought along with him, and after he has try'd the Points, lays them in the same Place he had taken them from, and begs one of them to dispatch himself, that the Example might animate his Courage. He sometimes reproaches himself with his own Infamy, and the next Moment calls upon Death to his Assistance, not daring to kill himself, but he is deaf to all his Cries. He, at last, takes up a Dagger, which he carries to his Throat with a trembling Hand, and not courageous enough to plunge it in himself, one of his Freed-men pushes his Arm, and by that Means assists him in delivering himself from a wretched Life, which he cou'd hardly resolve to quit. Thus died the cruel, the infamous *Nero*, who, after he had sacrific'd so many innocent Victims to his Pleasure and Fury, is reduc'd to the sad Extreme of shedding his own Blood; not meeting with any Executioner, more worthy of that Office than him-

himself. His Death, far from being regretted, is, on the contrary, the publick Joy; and his Memory is hated and detested by all the World.

BUT I forget, that I descend too much to Particulars, and that, instead of giving my Readers a short Dissertation, I am going insensibly to extend my Subject, so as to make a considerable Volume. Therefore, that I may not trespass any longer upon his Patience, I shall hasten to an Account of the State of the Empire from the Death of *Nero*, to its Division.

THE Senate, who were now pretty well reconcil'd to the Authority of the Emperors, laying aside all Thoughts of restoring their ancient Liberty, content themselves with disposing of the Empire; and accordingly pitch upon *Galba* for their Sovereign. But the Pretorian Cohorts were willing to dispose of it themselves, and as they hated *Galba's* Covetousness, they wou'd not suffer him to reign any Time, for they assassinated him when he had set but seven Months upon the Throne, and proclaim'd *Otho* Emperor; the same *Otho*, who had been so greatly intimate with *Nero*, and who had insinuated himself into his Favour by a Similitude of Manners. But he did not reign above three Months. And now the Legions of the Provinces wou'd not allow the Pretorians the Right they had arrogated to themselves; but wou'd themselves usurp a Right of electing the Emperors. But now Discord began to arise among them, for some had made

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Choice

Choice of this, and others of that Man for Emperor; so that the World was full of nothing but Blood and civil Wars. If we meet with excellent Princes, who had found out the Art of reconciling and softning the Minds of Men, and restoring the Empire to its primitive Lustre, such as *Titus, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus*, and some others; they were not only very few in Number, but often left behind them Successors of a very different Character from their own. Besides, the Succession was not settled upon any solid Foundation, for the Senate was weak and degenerated, the People had lost their Authority, the Provinces were govern'd by the Legions, and *Rome* by the Pretorian Bands; the Soldiers had usurp'd an unjust Power, of destroying or setting up such Emperors as were most to their Liking. As Interest, Faction, or Capricio, were the Motives of their Choice, they seldom bestow'd it upon Birth or Merit; they sold the Empire to the highest Bidder, and cut him to pieces almost as soon as they had proclaim'd him; the sooner to draw Money from the next Purchaser, who far'd no better than his Predecessor had done. They often murther'd him for the very same reason, which had induc'd them to elect him; or because his Virtue was either too great, or too little for that high Dignity. But the Good were much more insupportable to them than the Bad, from their great Love for Licentiousness, and the Apprehensions they were under, that the ancient Discipline wou'd be restor'd, which made them consider as Tyrants, all

such

such as refus'd to squander away prodigious Sums of Money upon them, or presum'd to correct their Licentiousness. These kinds of Elections created a horrid Confusion in the Empire. The Armies in the several Provinces did each of them imagine, that in them was lodg'd the Right of Election, which was the Reason why three or four Emperors were sometimes elected at the same Time. Nay, so great was their Dissention under *Gallienus's* Reign, that thirty were elected at once in different Parts of the Empire. The Legions who had elected them, maintain'd their Choice by civil War; Victory proclaim'd the Right, and the Ratification of the Senate follow'd Success.

ONE wou'd have concluded, that the Election of thirty Tyrants, would naturally have prov'd the Destruction of the Empire, but they fell off by Degrees, and the supreme Authority was at last lodg'd in *Claudius II.* firmam'd the *Gothic*, from the great Victory he gain'd over the *Goths*; who, by his Moderation, his Prudence, his Courage, and his regular Administration, found out the Secret of repairing the Evils and Disorders, which had been occasion'd by the Negligence of *Gallienus*.

AFTER the Reign of *Claudius II.* the Empire was toss'd about by numberless Revolutions, which it wou'd be too tedious to mention; for sometimes the Throne was fill'd with one single Monarch, at others it was divided betwixt two. *Galerius* left four Successors behind him; viz. *Constantine*, *Maxentius*, *Licinius*, and *Maxi-*

mine. *Constantine* having got the Empire into his own Hands, by the Overthrow and Death of his three Competitors, divided it afterwards among his three Sons, and two of his Nephews. To *Constantine* his eldest Son, he assign'd the Division which his Father *Constans Chlorus* had enjoy'd, together with those Countries lying behind the *Alps* ; viz. *Spain, France, England, Scotland* and *Ireland* ; *Constantius* his second Son had all the *East*, as *Asia, Syria, and Egypt*, for his Share ; and to *Constans* his third Son, he gave those Provinces that lye in the Middle, as *Illyrium, Italy, and Africa* ; *Dalmatius*, his Nephew, had *Thrace*, and Part of *Illyrium* ; viz. *Macedonia* and *Achaia* ; and to *Hannibalin*, his other Nephew, whom he had honour'd with the Title of King of *Pontus*, he gave *Armenia* the lesser, and the neighbouring Provinces, viz. those of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, together with the City of *Cesarea*, as the Capital of his Kingdom. *Constantine* ratify'd this Division by his last Will ; but altho' his Authority had Weight enough during his Life, to put a Check to the Sallies of Jealousy and Ambition, yet his Memory was not sufficient to produce the same happy Effects after his Death ; and these Princes, mutually jealous of each other's Grandeur, instead of assisting one another, labour'd only at their own Destruction. We must not pass over in Silence, how *Constantine* seeing himself absolute, and undisturb'd in his Possession of the whole Empire, made a Resolution, as it were to administer to himself a Pleasure worthy so great a Man, by founding a new City towards the
East,

East, and to transport the Seat of the Empire to that Place. About two hundred Years before, *Lucius Verus* enchanted with the Effeminacy, the Luxury, and the effeminate Pleasures of the *Easterns*, had form'd a Design of settling himself among them, and 'twas with the utmost Regret, that he yielded to the wise Remonstrances of *Marcus Aurelius*, and return'd to *Rome*. *Constantine* was, therefore, resolv'd to execute what *Verus* had but projected. He had Thoughts at first of building his new City between *Troade*, and the ancient *Ilium*, upon the Coast of *Asia*; that he was pretty far advanc'd in the Execution of his Plan, is not to be disputed, from the Inclosure and Gates, which remain'd in that Place for near two Centuries after. But he chang'd his Resolution, and built it on the same Spot, on which *Bizantium* had stood; which *Severus*, enrag'd that it had resisted him in a three Years Siege, had ruin'd, and stript it of its Privileges as a City, to make it subordinate to that of *Heraclea*. *Constantine* was charm'd with its Situation, and resolv'd to make it either the second, or perhaps the first City in the Empire. He employ'd but five Years in that great Work, and dedicated it on Monday the 11th of May, Anno Christi 330, and of Rome 1083, and chang'd its Name from *Byzantium* to that of *Constantinople*, or the City of *Constantine*, or as Others have it *Second Rome*, or *New Rome*. He was, moreover, desirous that it should be as great as old *Rome*, and enjoy the same Rights and Privileges. All the Empire of the *East*, quite to the Cities which are

are seated upon the *Danube*, and to *Duras*, that is to say all the Eastern *Illyrium*, and *Lybia Cyrenaica* were made subordinate to it.

HE also honour'd it with what was call'd the *Italic Right*; that is to say, an Exemption from all the Tributes that *Italy* enjoy'd, and the Right of regulating themselves by the same Laws and Customs. *Procopius* having taken it *Anno Dom. 365.* depriv'd it of its Privileges, but *Valens* afterwards restor'd them all.

BUT this Transplantation of the Imperial Throne into the *Eastern* Part of the World, did not always break the Unity of the Empire, which was not properly divided till after the Death of *Theodosius the Great*, who left it to his two Sons, *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, whom he had associated with himself in the Empire at different Times, the Elder of which was but eighteen Years of Age, and the other but ten. He gave the *East* to the Eldest, and the *West* to the youngest Son. These young Princes had neither the Age, nor the Qualities necessary to rule; and when they were come to Years fit for it, they were both so soft and effeminate, that altho' Enemies were eternally presenting themselves both within and without Doors, yet had they never the Courage to draw their Swords, or set themselves at the Head of their Troops; they, on the contrary, shut themselves always up, not in their Cabinets to hold a Council there, and to give out their necessary Orders; but among their Women and Eunuchs, whose Diversion they were, no less than of their Ministers.

AFTER this Division, the two Empires were torn to pieces by several Storms; but that of the *East* was first ruin'd by the Effeminacy of its Emperors, by the Ambition of the Officers of the *Militia*; but what gave the finishing Stroke was the Irruptions of the Northern Nations, who had sworn its Destruction, and were continually oppressing it. It fell by little and little, and lost its Strength, and expir'd finally in *Augustulus*, so call'd in *Derision*. *Odoacer*, King of the *Heruli*, entring into *Italy* with a considerable Army, made himself Master of *Rome*, and clapp'd up that Prince in a Castle in *Campania*. Such was the Fall of that proud City, whose Thirst of Ambition the whole Universe cou'd not satiate; it had not the Art of maintaining itself in its Splendor, and divided in its own Bowels, fell insensibly into its first Obscurity, after it had pass'd thro' a Variety of *Revolutions*.



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